CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS
IN
THE ORMULUM MANUSCRIPT

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

BY

SIGURD HOLM

UPPSALA 1922
ALMQVIST & WIKSELLS BOKTRYCKERI-A.-B.

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FIL. LIC.

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BY PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF UPSALA, TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED IN ENGLISH IN LECTURE ROOM I, MAY 27TH, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M., FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UPPSALA 1922
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Preface.

My interest in the Ormulum dates back to 1916, when the late Prof. Erik Björkman, my teacher in English Philology, drew my attention to the fact that, in spite of the comparatively rich literature already extant on the Ormulum, there were still many questions unsolved which made a renewed investigation on the language of this important document necessary. In the course of my work, however, I found that such an investigation had to be preceded by another, the result of which is the present work.

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Prof. R. E. Zachrisson for valuable advice in the course of my work, to my old friend Docent Erik Rooth who has given me valuable bibliographical information and helped me in many other respects, to Lektor J. Stårck, Librarian of Västervik Läroverk, and to Adjunkt A. Nordberg, Librarian of Söderhamn Läroverk, for their ready assistance in procuring the literature required.

I am also much indebted to Mr. Henry Alexander, Lektor at the University of Upsala, who has been kind enough to revise my style and help me read the proofs.

Västervik, April 1922.

Sigurd Holm.

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Abbreviations.

[Abbreviations of references to texts used in dictionaries are not included.]

acc. = accusative.
acc. to = according to.
adj. = adjective.
adv. = adverb.
Angl. = Anglian.
art. = article.
c. = century.
col. = column.
coll. = columns.
cons. = consonant.
D., Ded. = Dedication of the Ormulum.
def. = definite.
dat. = dative.
dial. = dialect.
edit. = editor, edition; refers to Holt and Holt's edition.
E. E. T. S. = Early English Text Society.
EMidl. = East Midland.
EModE = Early Modern English.
er. = erasure(s), erased.
fem. = feminine.
gen. = genitive.
Goth. = Gothic.
h. = hand.
H. = Holt, the 2nd edit. of the Ormulum.
illeg. = illegible.
inf. = infinitive.
insert. = insertion, inserted.
K = Kölbing.
l. = line.
Lat. = Latin.
Li = Lindisfarne Gospels.
ll. = lines.
marg. = margin, marginal.
masc. = masculine.
ME = Middle English.
ModE = Modern English.
NED = New English Dictionary.
neut. = neuter.
nom. = nominative.
O. = Orm or Ormulum.
obj. = object.
OE = Old English.
OIcel. = Old Icelandic.
OLG. = Old Low German.
O. Scand. = Old Scandinavian.
P. = Preface of the Ormulum.
part. = participle.
pers. = person.
p. m. = prima manu.
prep. = preposition.
pret. = preterite.
prob. = probably.
refl. = reflexive.
R^1 = Rushworth^1.
R^2 = Rushworth^2.
sg., sing. = singular.
s. h. = second hand.
s. m. = secunda manu.
t. = text.
W. = White, the 1st edit. of the Ormulum.
WG = West Germanic.
WS = West Saxon.
× = instance(s).
~ = by the side of.

Introduction.

White's edition.

In the year 1852 the Ormulum was first edited by R. M. White, Professor of Anglo-Saxon at the University of Oxford. It was no doubt an excellent work for its time when Anglo-Saxon professors were sometimes defined as «persons willing to learn Anglo-Saxon» (Dict. of Nat. Biography vol. LXI, p. 74). In an extensive preface (86 pp.) the edit. gives a survey of the history of English Philology with special reference to the O. (= Ormulum). After reporting the little that is known about the earlier fate of the MS he points out its chief orthographical, phonological, and metrical[1] peculiarities. He also enters upon the question of its date and dialect, and comes to the conclusion that the O. was probably written early in the 13th century in the neighbourhood of Peterborough. The Preface is followed by a careful and detailed description of the MS, which among other things contains the following important remark (p. LXXXVII) with regard to the scribes of the MS: «A second hand appears to have been used in the marginal corrections and in the transcript of some of the inserted leaves; a third in supplying the MS note at the fiftieth text, and also texts at the respective Homilies; and a fourth in a marginal addition at

[1] On this point W. follows Guest (p. 507), who holds the conventional view, then adopted by ten Brink and Schipper, that O. is the first imitator of the Latin rhythm called the «common metre». This opinion has subsequently been opposed by Trautmann (Anglia V, Anz., p. 124) and Menthel (Anglia VIII, Anz., pp. 70 foll.). The latter, who has investigated this matter methodically, comes to the conclusion that in the formation of his long line O. (= Orm) has not imitated any foreign metre but used a native one.

col. 230. The three last-mentioned hands have been further described in the notes.»

A fairly good idea of the MS may be formed from four facsimiles, the first being a fly leaf on which the runic alphabet has been entered, the 2nd and the 3rd containing ll. 3315—3370, 3397—3429, D. 1—16 of the English text, and the 4th the Latin text LXVIII—LXX.

As to the text itself it can by no means be said to satisfy the requirements of present-day scholarship. There are many errors, both misreadings and misprints, which may be found almost on every page. Besides, the many corrections which have been made afterwards (pp. 659—664) make the use of this text very inconvenient. The abbreviations, the most usual of which is a macron over a vowel to denote a following *m* or *n*, are never indicated. All through the MS certain consonants, *m*, *n*, *r*, *h* (very often), *t*, *l*, *ȝ* (more seldom) are written above the line over others. This peculiarity in writing, to which the edit. (= editor) should at least have drawn attention, is rather important to every student of the O., as these superpositions may be suspected to be corrections in the first or second h. (cf. chapt. V, 4). The text distinguishes between *i* and *j*, contrary to the MS. On the other hand both *þ* and *ð* are used in the latter (cf. Preface XCII), whereas the former always has *þ*. The edit. has often confused the shortening sign (breve) with the mark of abbreviation for *n*.

The edit. (= edition) is also enriched with notes and a glossary. In the former, which do not seem to have been observed by scholars to the extent they merit, most[1] of the extremely frequent alterations and corrections have been described. Often, although unfortunately far from always, the edit. has also indicated, by means of designations such as p. m. (prima manu), s. m. (secunda manu) or the letter B., in what hand he considers the corrections to have been made. Here are also printed the many legible passages which have been erased. In addition the edit. has bestowed much labour on trying to find out the authorities from which O. has taken his naive allegorical interpretations of Scripture.

[1] The frequent *n*-insertions are not mentioned; cf. pp. 20 foll.

Although he may have ascribed too many of these to S. Augustine and Aelfric, his remarks on this point must have been of great value as a general guide to the author of «Über die Quellen des O.». This scholar (Sarrazin), who has by no means exhaustively treated this important subject, seems to have gone to the other extreme, assuming too often and on too weak grounds that Bede has been the source.

The glossary, which from the point of view of etymology and explanation of meanings, is antiquated and often contains misprints or downright blunders such as *barrh* given as pret. of *berenn* or *cunneþþ* as another form for *cann*, is, in spite of all these shortcomings, beyond all doubt the most valuable part of W.'s edit. Here are included not only all the words appearing in the O. but also almost all the different grammatical forms and constructions, and most of their occurrences are referred to by line or page. Of the verb *don* alone, for instance, there are over 200 records, of the adj. *god* about 150, etc. This does not imply, however, that it is absolutely infallible or complete. With regard to statistical details it is by no means to be relied on, as has been done by some scholars who have worked at the O. Effer and above all Reichmann are praiseworthy exceptions in this respect. Zenke only gives the number of the forms without any references, which would have been desirable, at least in some important cases. But, with the assistance of W.'s glossary, a fairly good idea of O.'s phonology and accidence may be formed.

It is easily understood that the editing of so great a MS as the O. must have been a very laborious task, especially if performed in the way described here. We have therefore every reason to be grateful to W. for having devoted half his life — the editing of the O. is said to have taken him nearly twenty years[1] — to such important preparatory researches on the O.

[1] Dict. of Nat. Biography, vol. LXI, p. 74. — According to the same authority W.'s edit. was criticized shortly after it had been issued, by a German professor of the name of Monicke in a work entitled «Notes and Queries on the O.» 2. Teile. Leipzig 1853—4, to which however, I have not had access.

Kölbing's collation.

In 1877 there appeared a collation of the text with the MS by the German scholar E. Kölbing (Engl. Stud. I). This collation contains no less than about 1100 textual corrections and explanatory additions, of which about 800 claim to be corrections of erroneous readings or misprints. The following year it was severely criticized by K.'s (= Kölbing's) fellow-countryman P. R. Wülcker in the periodical Anglia (I., pp. 374—5), then newly started, but this article, although very polemic in form, is based only on assumptions and does not even make an attempt to prove that K.'s readings were incorrect. Still, the reviewer arrives at the following bold conclusion: »Der Wert dieser arbeit von K. ist also sehr illusorisch! Nach wie vor kann man alle grammatischen betrachtungen nur auf die ausgabe von White gründen!«

Holt's edition.

To the surprise of the two rival German scholars, however, the 2nd edit. of the O. appeared the same year in England. The edit. was Rev. R. Holt, who, according to his own statement, (Holt's edit. p. v) «carefully corrected the text by collation with the MS». This edit., which is the one still in use, was not very favourably received by the critics. K., who after his revision of W.'s edit. was naturally qualified to judge of this work, subjected it to a thorough critical examination in his periodical (Engl. Stud. II, pp. 494—499), the results of which were briefly as follows:

(1) The new edit. had not made use of K.'s collation.

(2) about 350 of the old errors remained.

(3) H.'s (=Holt's) direct statements with regard to the readings very rarely differed from K.'s.

(4) K. admits that H. altered W.'s text on many points where K. was silent.

(5) He (K.) is of the opinion that many errors have been overlooked by both of them.

(6) The Preface and the Notes of W.'s edit. had been reprinted unaltered, with the exception of foot-note 117 (p. LXXI).

The only part of the work which was acknowledged by K. to be an improvement was the glossary, which he declared to have been thoroughly revised. Similar opinions of the same work were expressed in two other reviews, viz. Jahres-

p. 540 *unnclænn-*, 11063—4 *3olda33*, gloss, p. 572 *3ollda33*, 11356, 12038 *skaþelæs*, gloss. p. 519 *-læss*, 16978 *sunnderrrun*, gloss. p. 526 *sunderr-* and others. (Cf. Sachse, p. 2, foot-n. 4). Further all words occurring in the erased text are not given in the gloss.: *braþ(þ)* vol. II, p. 378, *minde* ib. pp. 394, *setenn* part. pret. of *sittenn* ib. p. 404 (not recorded elsewhere), *unnzæp* ib. p. 349. *onndlæt* ib. p. 354. Consequently the glossary must be used with great caution. It may also be remarked that it would have been an advantage if the references to the homilies (H.) had been quoted exactly by line and not by page.

From what has been said about H.'s edit. it follows that it is unsatisfactory in many respects, and that a new edition of the O., one of the most important ME documents, with a complete revision of text, notes and glossary, is greatly needed.

Extracts and facsimiles.

Of the many extracts that have been made from the O., there are some that have been carefully revised from the MS. One which may be said to be ideal in all respects, is that published by Napier together with a facsimile (E. E. T. S. 103), and comprising ll. 7810—7847, 7869—7902. A good extract is also made by Hall (Part. I, p. 112, ll. 3662—4009), who has carefully distinguished between *g* (the symbol invented by O.), 3, and *ǧ* and italicized the consonants which stand for abbreviations. It is only to be regretted that superposition of consonants is *not* indicated. A third extract which is fairly reliable[1] is found in Zupitza-Schipper, Alt. u. Mittelengl. Übungsbuch and contains Preface (1—106) and of the Homilies ll. 15538—15635.

Besides the facsimiles already mentioned the following have been used: ll. 1155—1173, 1213—1230 in Skeat, Twelve Facsimiles of OE MSS Plate IV, ll. 6412—6427 in Thompson p. 251.

Finally it may be mentioned that I have had the following passages photographed: 565—586, 1036—1045, 4166—4193, 4224—4255, 4774—4783, 5828—5861, 7471—7480, 7775—7783, 9035—9062, 9252—9273, 9317—9330, 9694—9722,

[1] Note, however, *-dab* for *-dap* P. 5, *-tes* for *-tess* 15574.

9781—9802, 10291—10300, 10390—10416, 10437—10461, 15476—15520, 15538—15562, 15592—15622, 15642—15657.[1]

Previous treatment.

The remarkable and interesting statement made by the first edit. with regard to the scribes of the MS (see above) has not been taken much notice of by scholars, although from 1852 up till now a whole literature on the O. has grown up. In his collation K. makes a few stray remarks on this question, observing on his revision that *n* in *þin* is often inserted in second h. (p. 2), and the same subject is only incidentally touched upon by Sachse (pp. 17 foot-n. 4, 20 foot-n. 15). The only writer who, as far as I am aware, has drawn attention to the above-mentioned remarks of the edit. is Reichmann in his treatise 'Die Eigennamen im O.' (§ 39), where, with reference to W.'s description of the MS, he assumes that the first scribe's composition was corrected in a second, perhaps in a third h. (= hand), and states that in many cases inadvertencies and careless spellings have actually been corrected by means of insertions in the margin. He then continues (p. 87): »So hatte die hs. ursprünglich *Galcam* für *Galileam* LT XXX, *Mazarene* für *Nazarene* LT XXXVII, *Judorum* für *Judeorum* LT XLVI, *Bapaptista* für *Baptista* LT LXXX, v. 8292 stand ursprünglich *Palate* (für *Pilate*) in der hs., aber das erste *a* ist teilweise ausradiert und *i* darüber geschrieben. In *Galilew* 8473 ist das *w* über einem ausradierten *o* hingeschrieben. In v. 5941 ist die letzte silbe von *Bapptisste* ausradiert und am rand wieder hinzugefügt.« These supposed instances of corrections in another h. than the first are, however, not very well chosen, as with the exception of the last three they happen to be emendations made by the edit., as is also indicated in his notes.

Aim of the present work.

On my revision of the MS I ascertained that, on the whole, W. was right in his statement concerning the scribes. A first h. **A.** (= the author) who has written the chief part of the work, may be traced right through the MS; a second h. **B.** has then corrected A.'s work and made some additions. A few passages are due to a third h. **C.** Some arbitrary and inconsistent alterations seem to have made by

[1] For these photographs I am indebted to the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

one or more later scribes. As it might be expected that many of the inadvertencies as regards the orthography, phonology and accidence of the O. are due to the different scribes just mentioned, I have made all the alterations and additions found in the MS the subject of an investigation intending to show

(1) what passages (corrections or additions) are due to the different scribes,

(2) their purpose,

(3) to what extent these scribes differ from each other from a linguistic point or view.

Methods of investigation.

The difficulties of the task I set myself turned out to be greater than I suspected, especially as the MS has not been accessible to me more than once, and the notes I then made and considered to be satisfactory, proved in the course of my work to be far from sufficient. The handwritings of A. and B., who are contemporaneous, are often (not always) very hard to distinguish, at least for a non-expert in handwriting. The indications given on this point by W. in his notes have therefore been of great assistance to me. But many corrections and insertions are left undecided by him, and others which he ascribes to B. must for linguistic or other reasons have been made *p. m.* or in h. **C.** He is therefore not always to be relied on, and his notes must be used with caution. But when for paleographical reasons I have come to the same result as W. with regard to the scribe, I consider that a sufficient criterion. When that is not the case, recourse has been had to other tests. Some of them are linguistic, based on alterations whose authorship has been decided in the former way. In the course of my work I found that a characteristic feature of a great many safe B.-corrections, was that they had been made for theological reasons. Consequently, whenever it can be shown that a correction reflects other theological opinions it may be suspected to be due to B. Sometimes the source may give us a clue.

Various sorts of alterations.

From a technical point of view the alterations found in the O. are as follows:

(1) Text has been completely scraped out and replaced by other text (t. [= text] over erasure).

(2) Text has been erased by means of the pen being drawn through the lines, (erased t.), a mode of erasing thanks to which the erased t. is for the most part legible. Sometimes nothing is substituted for the passage erased (erasures without substitutions), but generally fresh t. has been inserted above or beneath the line, in the margin or at the top or the bottom of the col. (= column) (marginal insertions).

(3) Text has been added either in a vacant space in the coll. (columns) (marginal additions) or on small leaves which have been inserted for this particular purpose (inserted leaves).

Collation.

In the following collation, which has reference only to the English t., no consideration has been taken to the distribution of the symbols *þ* and *ð* (cf. edit. p. LXXX) as being of no importance to our investigation, to the erasures and reinsertions of *o* in the combination *eo,* dealt with in Chapt. III, and to the symbols used for *g* and *ȝ,* which have been treated of by Napier. It may be pointed out, however, that the former symbol, specially invented by O., is found in B.- as well as A.-t (cf. p. 102). Superpositions of letters (cf. p. 89) have been indicated only in sporadic important cases. When my readings have agreed with K.'s, this is indicated by *K.*

With regard to the letters and other marks used in the MS, a few remarks beyond those made by the edit. (pp. LXXIX—LXXX) are required. The printed t. distinguishes between *j* (consonant) and *i* (vowel), contrary to the MS, the same symbol, viz. *i,* always being found in both functions (printed t. *Juda, inn,* MS *iuda, inn*). Nor does the MS distinguish between *u* (vowel) and *v* (labiodental fricative) which are both represented by *u,* which as a capital takes the form *V.* Both W. and H. have printed *u* in the former case and *v* in the latter, which has caused much misunderstanding (cf. Lambertz §§ 258, 260, Reichmann § 26 p. 80). Capitals are not used in proper names except in some of those beginning with *M* (*Márȝe, Mapþeu:* but *moysæsess* 7881), but they are regularly found in all words at the beginning of every half-verse.

As a rule abbreviations are sparely used. The most common is a stroke over a letter to designate a following *m* or *n.* The double *m* is often denoted by two strokes,

e. g. *hī, sū*. Occasionally the same marks of contraction stand for *-enn*, e. g. *ūtnūmliȝ* 2599 (see K. on this l.) or *ūtnūmliȝ* 12283 (see K. p. 11), which are to be interpreted *ūtnumennliȝ*. The ending *-er(r)* in *affterr, allterr, winnterr* etc. is often abbreviated by the mark 7 above the letter *t*, occasionally by the same mark doubled, e. g. *nossterr* l. 5767. That the single mark is also meant to denote *-err* is seen from spellings *affterr, allterr* written in full. Probably *wallt*, which occurs only in the abbreviated form is to be interpreted *wallterr;* cf. K.'s remarks on ll. 138, 515. The *þ*-curl stands for *pro-* in *prophete, propitiatoriumm*. The conj. *annd* is as a rule abbreviated as 7, but sometimes written in full. *Þ* = *þatt* is often found by the side of the full form. The vowels *a, i, o* above the l., denoting *ra, ri, ro* respectively, are rarely met with, e. g. *cst* = *crist* 15600, 15614, *twwenn* 15643 = *trowwenn*. Once I have found *p* = *per* in *uipa* = *uipera* 9760.

D. 7. *tākenn*. K.

D. 12. *þi; n* in s. h. K.

D. 62. *well*. K.

D. 107. *wel*. K.

D. 109. *writenn*.

D. 162. *fisste*. K.

D. 203. *hiss*.

D. 237. *frofren*. K.

D. 262. *opnen*. K.

D. 286. *hiss*. K.

D. 298. *winenn* = *winnenn;* the stroke over *i* is a little rounded but K. is right when saying that the breve is always more rounded.

D. 318. *þat*. K.

D. 322, D. 331. In these ll. a later h. has altered *t* in *tiss* into a *þ*. K.

P. 7. *amminadap*. K.

P. 61. After *bitwe-* a letter er. K.

P. 66. Afterr *salemann be* er. K.

P. 83. *dœþ*.

l. 10. *tokenn* in margin for *sellfenn* er. K.

l. 31. *þeowwȝ;* edit. *peowwȝ*.

l. 78. After this l. in er. t. edit. vol. II, p. 349 l. 4; K. reads *wass;* edit. has *nass;* probably edit. is right.

l. 107. *þurrþ godd*. K.

l. 156. *childen*. K.

l. 166. *follȝeþ*. K.

l. 185. *sunes*. K.

l. 231. *elysabœth*. K.

l. 291. *wifmann* altered from *wimmann* in s. h.

ll. 294, 298. *israœle.* K.

l. 311. *kī* = *kinn.*

l. 321. See edit. note.

l. 336. *e33þer.* K.

l. 350. *ūt.* K.

l. 353. *alll;* the third *l* added in later h., as K. remarks; the reason is that the first *l* is hidden in a fold, not visible at first sight.

l. 487. *twa* in margin. K.

l. 511. *sprugenn.* K.

l. 523. *hiss.* K.

l. 540. W. has *Zacaryass,* K. *zakaryas,* and H. and MS *zakaryass.*

l. 590. W. has *floccess,* K. *flockes,* H. and MS *flockess.*

l. 621. *hiss.* K.

l. 830. *gluterrnesse.* K.

l. 832. *drunkennesse.* K.

l. 842. W. has *Issraœless,* K. *israœles,* H. and MS *israœless.*

l. 863. *forþ.*

l. 894. *ūt.*

l. 974. *forr.* K.

l. 1055. K. reads *hehtesst,* W. and H. *hehzhesst,* MS has *hehzesst.*

l. 1129. *wraþ.* K.

l. 1170. *-le33c* in margin, *-nesse* er.

l. 1188. *onnfoþ.* K.

l. 1235. *Ellderrnemanness.* K.

l. 1268. *þi; n* in s. h.; *n* is somewhat blotted but quite legible; cf. K.

l. 1290. *lærest.* K.

l. 1311. K. has *godes;* I read *godess* as W. and H.

l. 1312. *iss.* K.

l. 1357. *-cunnd* written twice, er. once. K.

l. 1370. *all cwicc;* edit. has omitted *all.* K.

l. 1521. *cristess;* see edit.'s note and K.

l. 1531. *itt.* K.

l. 1537. Edit.'s *læfe* emended from *lafe;* see edit.'s note and K.

l. 1544. *-le33c* written over *-nesse* er. in s. h. Cf. K.

l. 1545. *grammcund.* K.

l. 1552. *þi mele.* K.

l. 1582. *ædmodli3.* K.

l. 1588. *þerrfling.* K.

l. 1607. In *þi* and *ti* an *n,* although faint, is written above l. in s. h.

l. 1614. *þi; n* in s. h.

l. 1625. *na; n* in s. h. K.

l. 1667. After this l. in er. t. edit. vol. II, p. 353, l. 4. *onnfanngenn.*

l. 1730. *god þwert ūt;* K. erroneously reads *3od* etc.

l. 1734. *her* in margin in s. h. K. prob. for *-enn* er.

l. 1737. *an full* in s. h., *-like* er. K.

l. 1758. *hallȝe*. K.

l. 1768. *-leȝȝe* over er. K.

l. 1812. *on*. K.

l. 1813. After this l. in er. t. edit. vol. II, p. 353 l. 4. *drihhtin*.

l. 1856. W. has *eȝhe*, K. *eȝhhe*, H. *eȝhne*; MS has *eȝne*.

l. 1908. *follȝenn* over er.

l. 1913. *fifte*. K.

l. 1934. *unwemmedd*.

l. 1995. W. has *Fosæppess*, K. *iosæpes*, H. *Fosæpess*; MS has *iosæpess*.

l. 2006. *unnderrstan̄- denn* = *-stanndenn*; K. erroneously reads *-stan-denn*.

l. 2016. Before *helle hel* is written. K.

l. 2041. *modiliȝ*. K.

l. 2055. Between *bi* and *wepp-* some letters er. K.

l. 2058. *wass*. K.

l. 2073. *kin*. K.

l. 2080. *fosstnn* = *fosstrenn*. K.

l. 2084. After this l. in er. edit. vol. II, p. 354 l. 3. *sohhte*. l. 4. *onndlæt*. K.

l. 2113. *For*.

l. 2134. *sæsteorne*. K.; *o* nearly scraped out.

l. 2137. *stille*. K.

l. 2203. *anan*. K.

l. 2216. *Iesū* = *Iesumm*. K.

l. 2217. *forr*. K.

l. 2225. *dauiðð*.

l. 2291. *Annd*. K.

l. 2364. Edit.'s *libbenn* emended from *libben*; see edit.'s note and K.

l. 2412. A letter er. after *sammnenn*. K.

l. 2423. *æ* inn *onnȝæn* altered from *d*. K.

l. 2469–70. *shollde—wise* over er. K.

l. 2474. After this l. in er. t. edit. vol. II, p. 356 l. 3. *ȝifenn*. ll. 6—7. *ȝatte*.

l. 2478. After this l. in er. t. edit. vol. II, p. 356 l. 1. *þohh*; edit. *inoh*. l. 2. *maȝȝþhad*.

l. 2519. *wiss to fulle soþ* in margin in s. h. for *alls uss seȝȝþ þe boc* er.; K. reads .. *seggþ* etc.

l. 2599. *ūtnūm-liȝ*. K.

l. 2615. *Swá*. K.

l. 2693. *mann*; edit. *nan*. K.

l. 2713. W. has *iss*, K. *nis*, H. and MS *niss*.

l. 2723. *birþ*. K.

l. 2727. *gife*.

l. 2854. Accent on *a* in *Marȝe* er. K.

l. 2911. *ȝemen*. K.

l. 2959. *muȝenn*.

l. 2969. *lus-tess*. K.

l. 3006. *seȝȝde he wiss* over er. K.

l. 3020. *haliȝ*.

l. 3021 is over er. K.

l. 3053. *Off haliȝ gast* over er. K.

l. 3080. After *þess* some letters er. K.

l. 3161. *I;* edit. *Inn.* K.

l. 3163. *moneþþ.* K.

l. 3192. *wel* in margin for *-enn* in *sellfenn* er. in s. h.; cf. K.

l. 3225. *na; n* in marg. in s. h.

l. 3230. *hard.* K.

l. 3242. *hēt.*

l. 3277. *summ.*

l. 3287. *penīg = pening.* K.

l. 3289 is over er. K.

l. 3291. *þatt* altered from *þa.* K.

ll. 3308, 3310. *kingess.*

l. 3311. *beþþleæmess.* K.

l. 3313. See l. 3308.

l. 3320 *winde-,* K.: *winnde-.*

l. 3321. *a; n* prob. in s. h.

l. 3428. *ȝēt.*

l. 3444. W. has *kinȝess,* K. *kinges,* H. and MS *kingess.*

l. 3503. *Márȝe.* K.

l. 3535. I read *þeowwess* as edit.; K. has *þeowwes.*

l. 3537. *tuge* written twice in margin in late h. K. Cf. edit.'s note.

l. 3568. *Márȝe.* K.

l. 3579. W. and H. have *ȝeorrnenn,* K. *geornenn,* MS has *ȝeornen.*

l. 3583. *onn to lokenn* over er. K.

l. 3633. *soþ* in margin for *þe* er. in s. h. K.

l. 3687. *full naru* over er. K.

l. 3725. *all,* edit. *alle.*

l. 3734. *kald* over er. K.

l. 3742. *i* in *pinenn* over er. K.

l. 3743. *n* in *næfre* altered from *r.* K.

l. 3744. *godd warrþ* over er.

l. 3746. *lahȝre.*

l. 3750. *unorneliȝ.*

l. 3758. *cris-tenndom.* K.

l. 3796. *sētt.* K.

l. 3810. *daȝȝes.* K.

l. 3842. *grisliȝ.* K.

l. 3847. *a; n* in s. h.

l. 3870. *awwredd.* K.

l. 3889. *hĕre.*

l. 3909. After *l* in *walde l* er.

l. 3929. *heorte;* o nearly scraped out; as to *aȝȝ* see edit.'s note on l. 3383.

l. 3933. *sawles.* K.

l. 3955. *aȝȝ* in margin for *-e* in *gode* er. K.

l. 3969. See l. 3955.

l. 3978. *enngell--nahht* over er. K.

l. 3994. *greditleȝȝc.*

l. 4000. Between *þ* and *a* in *þatt* some letter er. K.

ll. 4008—9 in margin in s. h.; in the former l. *gife;* edit. *ȝife.*

l. 4120. *fra;* edit. *swa.*

l. 4139. *all;* K. has *al.*

l. 4156. After '*daȝȝ*' *þ datt* er. K.

l. 4166. After this l. in er. t. edit. vol. II, p. 359 l. 7 a dissyllabic word illegible; I suggest *toward.*

l. 4186. *-e-* in *resste-* altered from *l* or *s.*

l. 4201. *tŭkenn.* K.

l. 4243. *-llpe* in *hellpe* over er. K.

l. 4254. *wifmenn* altered from *wimmenn* in s. h.

l. 4255. *I^{nn}; nn* in s. h.

l. 4273. *o 3ure* er.; edit. *i 3ure.*

l. 4303. *nn* in *nemmnenn* over er. K.

l. 4307. *affter.* K.

l. 4331. After *a33* 4 letters er. K.

l. 4344. *herr.* K.

l. 4377. *tēne.* K.

l. 4388. *-word wass* over er. K.

l. 4422. *tin herrte* over er. K.

l. 4455. *lif* 7 over er.

l. 4458. *-i3* in *witerrli3* over er. K.

l. 4468. *ani3 mann* over er. K.

l. 4480. *swēre.* K.

l. 4489. *all* over er.

l. 4492. *unnclænnessess;* thus edit.; K. reads *-clænessess.*

l. 4508. *ganngenn.* K.

l. 4510. *winenn.* K.

l. 4527. *ll* in *wille* over er. K.

l. 4535. After this l. in er. t. edit. vol. II, p. 363 l. 2. *3uw;* edit. *3u.*

l. 4560. *gredi3-* in margin for *3iferr* er.

l. 4570. *nn* in *mann* over er.

l. 4606. *ma33dennhad.* K.

l. 4622. *-le33c* in margin for illeg. er.

l. 4628. *-le33c* over er.

l. 4648. *3iferrnesse* er.; cf. edit.'s note.

l. 4706. W. and H. have *grimm-*, K. reads *gramm-*, MS has *gm;* the symbol over *g* may be a miswriting for *a.*

ibid. *-le33c* in margin for illeg. er., prob. *-nesse.*

l. 4746. *-le33c* see l. 4706.

ll. 4756, 4764. K. *3ode,* H. and MS *gode,* which is over er.

l. 4770. *soþ* in margin for *þe* er.

l. 4772. *þ* in *swiþe* over er. K.; *o* in *toc* over er.

l. 4788. *dreri3* first written *dreori3; o* then er.

l. 4803. *an—atell* over er.; cf. K.

l. 4815. After *i* two letters er.; cf. K.

l. 4827. *a butenn.* K.

l. 4832. *drihhtiness—iob* over er.

l. 4842. *iss.* K.

l. 4861. *well swiþe unn-* over er. K.

l. 4884. *unnorne.* K.

l. 4889. W. has *unnwræsste*, K. *-wreste*, H. and MS *-wresste*.

ll. 4897—8. *mare* 7 *swa* over er. K.

l. 4954. *wurrþþenn*. K.

l. 4978. After this l. in C.-t. edit. note on l. 4978 l. 4. *follȝesst* K.

l. 4996. See l. 4770.

l. 4998. *man*. K.

l. 5010. *þurrh* in margin; *þi witt, þi lusst*.

l. 5014. *þi godd*.

l. 5017. *þan*.

l. 5062. *uppo me;* cf. K.

l. 5080. *ut*. K.

l. 5089. *swa lufenn* over er. K.

l. 5096. *ut* written over *t* in *þwerrt* without accents. K.

ll. 5116—7. *alle—swa* over er.

l. 5131. *wax—xenn*.

l. 5144. *dost*. K.

l. 5147. *ȝunnc baþe* over er.

l. 5148. *dost*. K.

l. 5166. *Forr ȝiff þatt* over er. K.

l. 5177. K. reads *kinnc;* I read *kinde* as H.

l. 5199. *Hiss mann* over er.

l. 5238. *drihhtin*. K.

l. 5252. *þi; n* prob. in s. h.

l. 5262. *na; n* in s. h. K.

l. 5286. *muȝen*. K.

l. 5288. *þe sellf*.

l. 5299. *sacc-less; le* over er.

l. 5307. *ti; n* in s. h.

l. 5387. *f* in *hafe* over er. K.

l. 5390. *man*. K.

l. 5411. *daȝȝess;* K. has *daȝȝes*.

l. 5452. *þi*.

l. 5453. K. reads *forrȝifennesse*, H. and MS have *-ȝifenesse*.

l. 5454. Whether *bede* or *bēde* is to be read, cannot be decided. K. has *bede*.

l. 5471. *tatt*. K.

l. 5511. Edit.'s *þeowwess* emended from *þeowess;* see edit.'s note; cf. K.

l. 5512. *ȝifeþþ*.

l. 5526. *cnelinng* over er. K.

l. 5538. *woh*. K.

l. 5554. *þi*.

l. 5577. *lange*. K.

l. 5599. *þewwess*; prob. altered from *þeowess*.

l. 5601. *i* before *word* and *dede* altered from 7. K.

l. 5612. *te* over er. K.

l. 5690. *-daȝȝ* over er. K.

l. 5706. *-leȝȝc* over er. K.

l. 5756. An er. after *þatt*. K.

l. 5757. An er. after *sellf*. K.

l. 5767. *nossterr;* cf. p. xix.

l. 5776. In er. t. in edit.

note. l. 13 *þa*, edit. *þe*. K., l. 22. *Marrcuss*. K., l. 23. *dere 7 lef*. K., l. 32. *gastlike* K., l. 49. *wrȧt*, l. 60. *rȯde*. K.

l. 5779. *Marrcuss bi*. K.

l. 5783. *bi*. K.

l. 5794. *se*; edit. *þe*.

l. 5861. After this l. *Forr kallf wass alls uss seȝȝþ þe* er. Cf. edit. note.

l. 5865. After this l. in er. t. in edit. note. l. 19. *þerrto*. K.

l. 5911. *-wheless* over er.

l. 5955. *-nn erþe* over er. K.

l. 5979. *'onn erþe* over er.

l. 5986. *7 he* over er.

l. 5998. *iss swa tac-* over er.

l. 6013. *unnclene* over er. K.

l. 6029. *-pedd* over er.

l. 6044. *man* K.; *ȝeornefþ; oc*. K.

l. 6051. *seollþe* K.; *o* nearly er.

l. 6102. *tu*; *n* in s. h.

l. 6106. *na*; *n* in s. h.

l. 6115. *þin*; *n* prob. added in s. h.

l. 6118. *þu*; *n* in s. h.

l. 6120. *þu*; *n* in s. h.

ll. 6138, 6140, 6150, 6154, 6158, 6186. *þu*; *n* in s. h.

ll. 6170, 6181. *þin*; *n* above l., prob. in s. h.

l. 6196–6. *macche—tu* over er. K.

l. 6213. *dedes*. K.

l. 6218. After *ȝunnc* a letter er. K.

l. 6228. *bitwenenn*. K.

l. 6239. *ȝoldenn*. K.

l. 6259. *þu*; *n* prob. in s. h.

l. 6274. *þu*; *n* in s. h.

l. 6276. *-leȝȝc* in margin for -ness(e) er.

l. 6304. *alderrmann*; between *l* and *d* there is a hole in the MS; *allderr-* was prob. written.

l. 6329. *iss* over er. K.

l. 6336. *But an*.

l. 6385 is over er. K.

l. 6397. *þeȝȝm* partly over er.

l. 6443. *þære* misprint or miswriting for *wære*.

l. 6446. *na*.

l. 6488. *wass—lac* over er. Cf. K.

l. 6545. *all full* in margin in s. h. for *-like* after *openn-* er. K.; thus also l. 6573.

l. 6558. *wel*.

l. 6585. *all full* in margin in s. h. for *-like* er. after *witerr-*. K.

ll. 6699, 6725 are in margin in s. h. for *swa summ þe boc uss kipefþ* er.

l. 6748. *þu*; *n* in s. h.

l. 6794. *flod*. K.

l. 6803. *cristen-*; *bigunnenn*. K.

l. 6816. *crisstene follc.* K.

l. 6869. *wel.*

l. 6883. *eorþike.* K.

l. 6938. *follȝedd.* K.

l. 6960 is over er. K.

l. 6977. *wass fundenn* over er. K.

l. 6986. *i iuda* over er.

l. 6988. *wiss—soþ* in margin in s. h. for *alls uss seȝȝþ þe boc* er.

l. 7017. *ūne* = *inne.*

l. 7032. *sen;* K. reads *sén;* the stroke that K. has taken for an accent is in my opinion only a part of the letter *e.*

l. 7044. *þatt—soþ* in margin in s. h. for *swa summ þe boc uss seȝȝþ* er.

l. 7070. *Maþ-* over er.

l. 7082. *þatt—wel* in margin in s. h. for *alls uss seȝȝþ þe boc* er.

l. 7095. *sūne* = *sunne.* K.

l. 7101. *new, unncuþ* in margin. K.

l. 7169. In er. t. in edit. note l. 3 *ȝer;* prob. a corruption for *aȝȝ.*

l. 7178. *inn.*

l 7186. *onn.* K.

l. 7234. *-enn* in margin.

l. 7270. *inn.* K.

l. 7321. See l. 6699.

l. 7340. *-ss* in *wass* over er.

l. 7344. *þuss brihht* over er. K.; perhaps in s. h.

l. 7366. *ȝellþ.* K.

l. 7367. *na; n* prob. in s. h.

l. 7378. *þin; n* in s. h. under l., by means of a guide-l. indicated to belong to *þi.*

l. 7396. *naffdenn.* K.

l. 7397. K. has *dær*, I read *tær*, as W. and H. do.

l. 7400. *þi; n* prob. in s. h.

l. 7405. *hundess* over er. K.

l. 7440. *lære-* over er.

l. 7445. *lihhnen.* K.

l. 7448. *rihht* in margin. K.

l. 7465. *þe33re.*

l. 7512. *gredi3-* over er.

l. 7523. *-le33c* in margin in s. h.

l. 7552. 7 *a33 forr-* over er. K.

l. 7603. *ehne.* K.

l. 7619. *lǽt;* edit. *lât.*

l. 7659. *wif* altered from *lif.* K.

l. 7671. See l. 7082.

l. 7679. *þatt – wel* in margin in s. h. for *þuss seȝȝþ þe boc* er.

l. 7751. *i* in *imæn* er. K.

l. 7761. An er. over *i* in *witenn;* prob. a breve er.

l. 7772. *full* in margin in s. h. for *-e* in *gode* er. K.

l. 7783. *þiss.*

l. 7812. *V siclis argenti* prob. in later h.; cf. edit.'s note and p. 104.

l. 7833. *clensenn.* K.

l. 7843. *a; n* in s. h.

l. 7904. *-manne kinde* over er. K.

l. 7912. *wifmanne* altered from *wimmanne*. K.

l. 7947. An er. over *wop*. K.

ll. 7948, 7979. *þı̄*.

l. 8012. 7 *all* in margin. K.

l. 8019. *u* in *swulltenn* above l.

l. 8058. *follȝen*. K.

l. 8076. *nan* over er. K.

l. 8092. *swiþe bliþe* over er. K.

l. 8144. *bollȝenn*. K.

l. 8153. *feorþe*. K.

l. 8155. *þatt—wel* see l. 7082.

l. 8199. *þeȝȝn*.

l. 8227. *nemnedd*. K.

l. 8266. *dæledd* above l.; whether in s. h. is questionable; cf. K. and p. 86.

l. 8284. *traconys*. K.

l. 8287. *witt tu wel* in margin in s. h. for *seȝȝþ þe boc* er.

l. 8308. After *shollde* illeg. er. K.

l. 8345. *wurþi*. K.

l. 8346. *winnen*. K.

l. 8382. *a; n* in s. h.

ll. 8391—2 are shortened thus: *Her ēd nu þiss godds. þ 7 uss bir itt þ sekenn*. K.

l. 8410. *all full*. See l. 6545.

l. 8507. *Iosæp*.

l. 8516. See l. 6699.

ll. 8629, 8634. *a; n* in s. h.

l. 8646. *mı; n* in s. h.

l. 8657. *spacc*.

l. 8662. *a; n* in s. h.

l. 8693. *t* in *efft* in margin.

l. 8720. See l. 6699.

l. 8777. The second *þatt* over er.

l. 8805. *-stanndern*. K.

l. 8944. *tı; n* in s. h.

ll. 8996, 9007. *ȝeorne*.

l. 9021. *kinness*.

l. 9029. *crist* over er.

l. 9047. After *þatt* two letters er.

l. 9059. *wollde* over er.; after *lætenn* two letters er.

l. 9061. *whatt* over er.

l. 9076. *þı; tı; n* prob. in s. h.

l. 9084. *to þenn-* over er. K.

l. 9165. *kaserr-* partly in margin for *keȝȝse-* er.

l. 9179. *þatt—wel;* see l. 7082.

l. 9185. *nemnedd*. K. has *nemned; kaý-phas*.

l. 9191—2. *þa—wiþþ fulluhht* over er.; cf. edit.'s note.

l. 9209. *ȝet*.

l. 9226. *ȝiff*. K.

l. 9227. After *occ a*ȝȝ 3 letters er. K.

l. 9230. *abuttenn*. K.

l. 9262. *shriffte;* the last 5 letters over er.

l. 9268 is in margin.

l. 9269. *tăkeþþ*. K.; *uppo*^{nn} ; *nn* in s. h.

l. 9312. *all swa* over er. K.

l. 9313. *iss nu* » » »

l. 9328. *he—lare* over er.; cf. K.

l. 9330. *þann*. K.

l. 9345. *Wass sennd* over er. Cf. edit. note on ll. 9343—4.

l. 9390. *forr—lærenn* over er. K.

l. 9409. *till hemm* over er.

ll. 9421—2. *himmsellf—spellenn* over er.; cf. K.

l. 9471. *iohan*.

l. 9491. *wiþþ īnenn*. K.

l. 9517. *ȝifenn*.

l. 9549. *ȝēt*.

l. 9550. See l. 6699.

ll. 9559—60. *þeoww—godd-* over er.; cf. K.

l. 9606. *all full;* see l. 6545.

l. 9608. *onn eorþe* over er.

l. 9617. *-mast*. K.

l. 9633. *t* in *rihht* corrected from another letter. K.

l. 9651. *tatt cristess þewww* in margin in s. h. for *te laferrd sannt* er. Cf. K.

l. 9665. After *shall* two letters er. K.

l. 9678. See l. 6699.

l. 9688. *teȝȝ* over er. K.

l. 9689. *afft-* » » »

l. 9698. *tăkenn*. K.

l. 9717. *nāme;* the breve in blacker ink; seems to have been put in later.

l. 9734. *un-*^{n} *nitt*. K.

l. 9771. *nedd- dress*. K.

l. 9789. *witt tu wel* in margin in s. h. for *seȝȝþ þe boc* er.

l. 9791. See l. 9651.

l. 9796. See l. 6545.

l. 9830. *hise* over er. K.

l. 9849. See l. 9651.

l. 9867. An er. after *þa*. K.

l. 9872. See l. 6699.

l. 9896. *Ri* in *Rihht* over er.

l. 9912. After *'þatt' he wile* er. s. h.; cf. edit.'s note.

l. 9913. *makenn cwike menn* over er. K.

l. 9914. *same staness* over er. K.

l. 9931. *c* in *mcc* over er.; prob. *o* er.; cf. K.

l. 9932. *Affterr*.

l. 9933. See l. 9651.

l. 9961. *wel*. K.

l. 9998. *góde*. K.

l. 10035. *Bu*^{ll}*tt*.

l. 10055. *berenn;* K. has *beren*.

l. 10080. *i gode*. K.

l. 10091. *And*^{n}. K.

l. 10094. *þeowwten*. K.

l. 10121. *unnsc*^{3}*ȝ-ȝennd liȝ*.

l. 10147. *forþ*. K.

l. 10152, 10177. *grediȝ-* in margin in s. h. for *ȝiferr-* er.

l. 10178. *-iȝ sinne* over er. K.

l. 10182. Edit. reads *Butt iff mann ȝæfe i mare;* MS has *mare,* which I consider to be a miswriting for *mare.*

ll. 10184, 10186. *grediȝ-* see l. 10152.

l. 10196. *kaserr-* in margin in s. h. for *keȝȝse-* er.

ll. 10202, 10210, 10213, 10216. *grediȝ-* see l. 10152.

l. 10217. *wha setitt;* edit. *whase itt.* K.

ll. 10234, 10238, 10240 *grediȝ-* see l. 10152.

ll. 10284, 10286. *efft o life* over er. K.

l. 10295. *iss þatt* under l.

l. 10304. *e* in *menn* corrected from *a.* K.

l. 10308. *wile* altered from *wollde* in s. h.; cf. K.

l. 10320. *t* in *narrt* over er.

l. 10321. *helyass.* K.

l. 10355. See l. 6545.

l. 10357. *butt.* K.

l. 10366. See l. 9651.

l. 10384. *tatt cristess þeww;* see l. 9651.

ll. 10392, 10398. *uppo; nn* in s. h.

l. 10408, 10415. *wifmann* altered from *wimmann.*

l. 10412. *þi; n* in s. h.

l. 10442 is over er. in s. h.

l. 10454. *iss — haliȝ* over er.

l. 10456. *nn* in *bitacnenn* over er. K.

l. 10478. See l. 9651.

l. 10488. *werrpenn;* K. *werppenn.*

l. 10497. *daless;* K. *dales.*

l. 10503. *deofless.* K.

l. 10509. *sīness = sinness.* K.

l. 10528. *whāne = whanne.* K.

l. 10560. *endelæs.* K.

l. 10585. See l. 6699.

l. 10586. *eȝȝþer.* K.

l. 10592. *opēliȝ = openliȝ.* K.

l. 10601. *þatt seȝȝþ þe boc* er. for *þ witt tu wel* in margin in s. h.; cf. K. and H.

l. 10642. *gife.* K.

l. 10661. *tunnderrganngenn* seems to be miswritten for *-fanngenn.*

l. 10678. *uppon; n* at the end of the l.; perhaps in s. h.

l. 10682. *mi; n* in s. h.

l. 10691. *maniȝwhatt;* K. *manniȝ-.*

ll. 10692, 10699, 10700. *kīness = kinness;* cf. K.

l. 10705. *wóȝʰe.* K.

l. 10722. *inoh;* a hole in the MS has made this word partly invisible; a late h. has therefore added *inoh.* K.

l. 10732. *kīne = kinne.* K.

l. 10749. *fifc.* K.

l. 10752. See 7082.

l. 10760. *laȝen.*

l. 10771. *i gode.* K.

l. 10779. *kīne sīness = kinne sinness.* K.

l. 10794. *witt tu wel* see l. 9789.

l. 10817. *fillen.* K.

l. 10885. *gæress.* K.

l. 10892. *droh.*

l. 10911. *illc* over er. K.

l. 10925. *hallȝe.* K.

l. 10926. *hird.*

l. 10931. *kīne = kinne.* K.

l. 10940. *shapenn.* K.

l. 10961. See l. 6699.

l. 10966. *tăkenn.* K.

l. 10976. *forþenn.*

l. 10979. *sīne = sinne.* K.

l. 10981. *wīnenn = winnenn.* K.

l. 10985. *kinde;* K. *kīne.*

l. 11008. 7 *till* over er. K.

l. 11016. *wīnenn = winnenn.* K.

l. 11031. *sīne = sinne.* K.

l. 11042. *sune* over er. K.

l. 11048. *þa—wel* in margin in s. h. for *alls uss seȝȝþ þe boc* er.

l. 11075. *wurrþ-* over er.

l. 11084. *ure la-* over er.

l. 11086. *a.* (*n* in s. h.?)

l. 11112. *cristenndom.* K.

l. 11146. *hand;* may be interpreted *hannd* as it cannot be decided if one or two abbreviation-marks over *a* are meant.

l. 11237. *ût.* K.

l. 11296. *tu* above l.

l. 11333. *whāne = whanne;* K. reads *whane.*

l. 11378. *a.* (*n* in s. h.?)

l. 11385. *uppo; nn* in s. h.

l. 11391. *þı; n* in s. h.

l. 11393. *þin; n* at the end of the l.; prob. in s. h.

l. 11457. *unnedd.*

l. 11508. *mīdiȝnesse = mindiȝ-;* in er. t. in edit. note. l. 2. *minde.*

l. 11532. *forþ.*

l. 11553. *na; n* in s. h.

l. 11574. *deofless.* K.

l. 11577. *lott.* K.

l. 11636. *gluterrnesse; -nesse* over er., *s* er. after the last *e;* cf. K.

l. 11640. *þur.* K.

l. 11674. *all full* see l. 6545.

l. 11707. *þærrwiþþ.* K.

l. 11732. *Swillc* over er. K.

ll. 11736, 11764, 11767, 11784. *Maþþew* altered from orig. *Maþeow.*

ll. 11780, 11798. *grediȝ-* see l. 10152.

l. 11799, *bâd; bâd.*

l. 11807. *na; n* prob. in s. h.

l. 11817. *mı; » » » » »*

l. 11877. *nennedd.* K.

l. 11900. *þı; n* in s. h.

l. 11907. *droh.*

l. 11917. *tı̄.* (*n* in s. h.?)

l. 11961. *sǽte;* edit. *sǽte.*

l. 11993. *uppo; nn* in s. h.

l. 12008. *tı̄; n* in s. h.

l. 12019. *mı̄; n* in s. h.

l. 12052. *a; n* in s. h.

ll. 12074, 12076. *grediȝ-* see l. 10152.

l. 12085. *na; n* in s. h.

l. 12135. *lĕt.* K.

l. 12145. *flæshess.*

l. 12149. *inn.* K.

l. 12152. *ȝeornenn.*

l. 12190. *gifenn.* K.

l. 12212. *na.* (*n* in s. h.?)

l. 12218. *þatt—wel* see l. 7082.

l. 12225. *grediȝ-* see 10152.

l. 12226. *þin; n* over er., perhaps in s. h.

ll. 12231, 12265, 12277. *grediȝ-* see l. 10152.

l. 12282. *lǽtenn;* edit. *lǽtenn.*

l. 12283. *ŭtnūmliȝ.* K.

l. 12286. *þı̄; n* in s. h.

ll. 12291, 12297, 12305, 12332, 12339. *grediȝ-* see l. 10152.

l. 12340. *onn* over er.

l. 12352. After *forr* a letter er. K.

ll. 12355, 12379, 12497. *grediȝ-* see l. 10152.

l. 12505. *tr* in *tradd* over er. K.

l. 12538. *Inn.* K.

l. 12544. *inoh* over er.

l. 12562. *gife.* K.

l. 12669. *nehhȝen;* it is doubtful if *nehh-* with *hh* is meant by the scribe, as the second *h* seems to have been altered into ȝ.

l. 12672. *þatt—wel* see l. 7082.

l. 12683. *sīne = sinne.* K.

l. 12758. *uppo; nn* in s. h.; the second *n* is over *m* in the following word *symon* but is by a guide-l. indicated to belong to *uppo* and has nothing to do with *symon,* as is assumed by K., who reads *symon.*

l. 12797. *na; n* in s. h.; cf. K.

l. 12800. *cnawesst.* K.

l. 12826. *upponn; nn* at the end of the l., prob. in s. h.

l. 12875. *filledd* in margin K.

l. 12880. *na.* (*n* in s. h.?)

l. 12896. *Annd.* K.

l. 12911. *all full;* see l. 6545.

l. 12941. *cwawenn; n* in later h. K. Cf. p. 106.

l. 12955. *sīness = sinness* K.

l. 12967. *seǧǧenn.* Cf. K.

l. 13039. *forþ*. K.

l. 13040. *cristenndom*. K.

l. 13054. After *þatt* some letters er. K.

l. 13059. *mi; n* in s. h.

l. 13064. *Forr* over er. K.

l. 13072. *cristenndom*. K.

l. 13093. *læfe* over er.

l. 13114. *mann*. K.

l. 13118. *hird*.

l. 13163. *lengre; n* above l. in smaller perhaps later h.

l. 13166. *cristenndom*. K.

l. 13241. See l. 6699.

l. 13249. After *crisstene* a letter er. K.

l. 13264. Under *dăle* in a modern h. *an dale, dal?* K.

l. 13284. *uppon; n* in s. h.

l. 13317. *to follȝhenn* over er. K.

l. 13320. *cefas;* no accent. K.

l. 13332. *ben nemmnedd*. K.

l. 13336. *hard*. Cf. K.

l. 13353. See l. 6699.

l. 13392. *forrþ* K.; the two last letters in *anan* over er.

l. 13393. *uss* over er.

l. 13396. *Forr*. K.

l. 13405. *her* over er. K.

l. 13451. *mede* » » ».

l. 13468. *wiþþ;* edit. *wtþþ*.

l. 13482. *tohh;* first written *tohht*. K.

l. 13556. *þuss*.

l. 13588. *þi; n* in s. h.

l. 13607. *na* » » » ».

l. 13616. *uppo; nn* in s. h.

ll. 13621, 13629. See l. 6699.

l. 13643. *na; n* in s. h.

l. 13693. *cwewe; n* in later h. K. Cf. l. 12941.

l. 13699. *spæche*.

l. 13716. *na; n* prob. in s. h.

ll. 13762, 13794. *witt tu wel*. See l. 9789.

l. 13802. W. and H. *Butt*, K. *bůt;* I read *bůtt;* the second stroke of the letter *u* is at the same time a *t*.

l. 13820. *uppo; nn* prob. in s. h.

l. 13831. *oþer*. K.

ll. 13842–3 are, except *all*, in margin p. m.

l. 13848. *dæwenn*. K.

l. 13864. *swa* over er. K.

l. 13940. *posstless*.

l. 13989. *i dede; i* altered from 7. K.

l. 13996. *gife*. K.

l. 14004. *a; n* in s. h.

l. 14012. *cristess*.

l. 14021. *mi; n* prob. in s. h.

l. 14036. *gan* under l.

l. 14068. *tákenn* over er.

l. 14122. *þi þohht, þi lusst; n* in both the cases in s. h.

ll. 14129, 14139. *gredi3-* see l. 10152.

l. 14179. See l. 6699.

l. 14183. *oderr,* evidently miswriting for *oþerr.*

l. 14234. *farisewisshe.* K.

l. 14241. *gredi3-* see l. 10152.

l. 14262. *wass.*

l. 14276. *farisewisshe.* K.

l. 14294. W. and H. read *flæsli3;* MS has *flæhli3* = *flæshli3; h* in pale ink but legible.

l. 14303. *drunnkenn-nesse.* K.

l. 14339. *Wifmann* altered in s. h. from *Wimmann.*

l. 14363. *mı; n* in s. h.

l. 14367. *mı.* (*n* in s. h.?)

l. 14370. *wifmann;* see l. 14339.

l. 14370. *mı; n* prob. in s. h.

l. 14374. After *wass* 3 letters er. K.

l. 14377. *time;* edit. *tíme.* K.

l. 14379. *mı; n* in s. h.

l. 14386. *annd.* K.

l. 14416. *fulle.* K.

l. 14456. *Caým.* K.

l. 14476. *witt tu wel;* see l. 9789.

ll. 14478–9. *þı; n* prob. in s. h.

ll. 14484, 14500. *þı; n* in s. h.

l. 14501. *drunnkennesse.* K.

l. 14512. *cana galile; -na ga-* written twice, at the end of col. 336 and at the beginning of col. 337. K.

l. 14522. *þurrh.*

l. 14594. *witt tu wel* see l. 9789.

l. 14602. *þı; n* prob. in s. h.

l. 14620. *þı þohht* over er. K.; *n* in s. h.

l. 14661. See l. 6699.

l. 14665. *þı.* (*n* in s. h.?)

l. 14666. *a.* (*n* in s. h.?)

l. 14676. *hof.*

l. 14683. See l. 6699.

l. 14685. *tı; n* prob. in s. h.

l. 14688. *a; n* in s. h.

ll. 14702. *þı; n* in s. h.

l. 14703. *þı; n* prob. in s. h.

l. 14705. *to* in margin.

l. 14712. *witt tu wel* see l. 9789.

l. 14714. *þı* in margin. K.

l. 14715. *þı; n* prob. in s. h.

ll. 14720, 14740. *þı; n* in s. h.

l. 14741. *drunnkennesse.* K.

l. 14749. *dales.* K.

l. 14779. *þewwdomess.*

l. 14786. *a; n* in s. h.

l. 14816. *te* in margin. K.

l. 14830. *witt tu wel* see l. 9789.

ll. 14832—3, 14838, 14868, *þi; n* in s. h.

ll. 14874, 14911—2, 14920. *dauiþþ.* K.

l. 14924. *witt tu wel* see l. 9789.

ll. 14926—7, 14932. *þi; n* in s. h.

l. 14938. *þatt.*

l. 14944. *sellfenn* over er.

l. 14956. *-kinn* over er.

l. 14957. *ut;* edit. *ūt.* K.

l. 14968. *þi; n* in s. h.

l. 14970. *werrldess.* K.

l. 15017. *þi; n* in s. h.

l. 15019. *Crisstene.* K.

l. 15020. *witt tu wel;* see 9789.

l. 15022—3, 15028. *þi; n* in s. h.

l. 15058. *þi; n* in s. h., edit. *þi.*

l. 15127. *unnitt.* K.

l. 15134. *witt tu wel;* cf. K. and edit.'s note.

l. 15139. *þākess = þankess.* K.

l. 15169. *Anȝætenn.* K.

l. 15198. *ane;* after *a* a letter er. K.

l. 15207. See l. 6699.

l. 15228. *cristenndom.* K.

l. 15230. *hus* altered from *huss.* K.

l. 15246. *hiss;* edit. *iss.* K.; *hiss* miswriting for *iss.*

l. 15254. *kirrkeȝærd.*

l. 15278. *mast.* K.

l. 15292. *cristenn-.* K.

l. 15314. *gode.* K.

l. 15377. *drunnkennesse.* K.

l. 15380. After *þe* two letters er. K.

l. 15388. *drinnch.* K.

l. 15389. *drunnkēnesse = -kennnesse.* K.

l. 15400. *wel;* a letter, prob. *o*, er. between *w* and *l;* cf. *wel* 19690, edit.'s glossary p. 547 and K.

l. 15408—9. *þi; n* in s. h.

l. 15435. *all full* see l. 6545.

l. 15471. *tacness; tacn-* over er.

l. 15486. *uppo; nn* in s. h.

l. 15516. *A; n* in s. h.

l. 15532. *gife.*

l. 15538. first written: *Annd affterr þatt te laferrd crist, Annd* having been er., *þatt* altered into *tatt* and *þatt* inserted before *tatt,* all in s. h.

l. 15562. *a; n* in s. h.

l. 15572. *mi; n* in s. h.

l. 15576. *ta.* K.

l. 15598. 3 in *3ellpenn* over er.

l. 15626. *na; n* in s. h.

ll. 15642, 15660. *soþ* in margin for *þe* er.

l. 15670. *hemm* over er., *full* in margin. K.

l. 15676. *lerninng-;* K. reads *lerning,* MS has *lernīg.*

l. 15706. *soþ;* see l. 15642.

l. 15707. *wifmenn* altered in s. h. from *wimmenn.*

l. 15737. *deffless.* K.

l. 15740. *fuliwiss;* K. and H. have *fuliwis,* W. *fulliwiss.*

l. 15752. *þær* in margin.

l. 15776. *An.*

l. 15815. *strang.* K.

l. 15848. *witt tu wel;* see l. 9789.

l. 15901 is in margin in s. h. for an er. of which *swa summ þe boc uss* are legible; the last word is illegible; may be *rekkeþþ.*

l. 15930. *na; n* in s. h.; edit. *na.*

l. 15938. *Bűtt;* edit. *Bűtt.*

l. 15945 is in margin in s. h. for *swa summ þe boc uss læreþþ* er.

l. 15985. *posstless.*

ll. 16017, 16028, 16031. *grediz-* see l. 10152.

l. 16038. *Bűtt.*

l. 16046. *forrwerr-* over er.; cf. K.

l. 16051. *Symon.* K.

l. 16055. *cristess.* K.

l. 16059. *grediz-* see l. 10152.

l. 16062—3. *spekenn—spæchess* over er. K.; cf. edit.'s note on l. 16056.

l. 16086. *þatt.*

l. 16088 is over er. K.

l. 16094. *mi; n* in s. h.

l. 16103. *mann* in margin.

l. 16120. *mi; n* in s. h.

l. 16131. *a; n* in s. h.

l. 16134. *witt tu wel* see l. 9789.

l. 16147. *handess.*

l. 16150. *na; n* in s. h.

l. 16172. *þatt—wel;* see l. 7082.

ll. 16178, 16181. *a; n* in s. h.

ll. 16203, 16207. *þi; n* in s. h.

ll. 16232, 16238, 16240. *mi; n* in s. h.

l. 16256. *flæslike.* K.

l. 16279. After *shorrt* two letters er. K.

l. 16295. *soþ;* see l. 15642.

l. 16312. *swa summ* in margin; before *swa* 2 or 3 letters er.

l. 16340. *mi; n* in s. h.

l. 16345. *bitacnedd; e* altered from *a.* K.

l. 16354. *findesst* K.; *a; n* in s. h.

l. 16390. *witt tu wel;* see l. 9789.

l. 16421. See l. 6699.

l. 16425. *nāme.* K.

l. 16459. *éue.* K.

l. 16472. *word.* K.

l. 16476. *iudewisshe.* K.

l. 16499. *well.* K.

l. 16506. *bigūnenn.* K.

l. 16536. *na; n* in s. h.

l. 16570. After *Forr* 3 letters er. K.

l. 16572. *Bűtt.* K.

l. 16575. *hallf-* over er.

l. 16580. *mi flæsh, mi blod.* K.; *n* in s. h.

l. 16581. H. *Ner etepþ,* K. *Ne netepþ;* passage obscure; it is possible that K. is right.

l. 16593. *sholldenn.* K.

l. 16616. *a; n* prob. in s. h.

l. 16626. *-iss nan* over er.; cf. K.

l. 16657. *gast* 7 in margin.

l. 16658. *na; n* in s. h.

l. 16687. *þærto we* over er.

l. 16690. *berenn.* K.

l. 16700. *þatt stah* over er.

l. 16712. *godd* over er. K.

l. 16721—2. *sune—itt* over er. K.

l. 16766. *tokenn; -enn* over er.

l. 16797. *tacness* over er. K.

l. 16826. *uppo latin* over er.; cf. edit.'s note.

l. 16832. *well; mikell go-* over er. K.

l. 16837. *hiss hallȝhe* over er. K.

l. 16839. *grediȝ-* see l. 10152.

ll. 16842—3. *settnessess—laȝhe* over er. K.

l. 16844. *þuss onnȝæn* over er. K.

l. 16852. *settenn i þe follc* over er.

l. 16853. *sellfenn* over er.

l. 16856. *droh.*

l. 16866 is over er. K.

l. 16893. See l. 6699.

l. 16911. *þæwes.* K.

l. 16935. See l. 6699.

l. 16978. *sunnderrun.*

l. 17001. *ȝerde; n* in later h. K.

l. 17084. *-mast.* K.

l. 17088. *Butt.* K.

l. 17093. *na; n* prob. in s. h.

l. 17114. *mann; nn* over er. K.

l. 17148. *na mann;* the superposed *n* prob. in s. h.; edit. *na man.*

l. 17158. *nan;* the second *n* at the end of the l.; prob. in s. h.

l. 17167. *mi; n* in s. h.

l. 17168. *a33* in margin in s. h. for *-enn* er.

ll. 17174, 17177. *mı̄; n* in s. h.

l. 17185. *baþe* seems to be written in s. h.

l. 17187. *an;* edit. *án.* K.

l. 17205. *-less lare* over er. cf. K.

l. 17218. *wīle.* K.

l. 17264. *na; n* prob. in s. h.

l. 17267. *twizess;* K. reads *twizes.*

l. 17283. *tácness;* H. has *tacness,* K. *tácnes.*

l. 17300. Before *iss* two letters er. K.

l. 17326. *3ēt.*

l. 17349. See l. 6699.

l. 17369. *stah.*

l. 17383. *Butt.* K.

l. 17408. Over *a* traces of an *n* in s. h.

l. 17415. *drihhtin.*

l. 17419. *a; n* in s. h.

l. 17435. *he warrþ all* over er.; cf. K.

ll. 17551, 17555. Before *forr* an illeg. word er. K

l. 17581. *hand.*

l. 17584. *likeþþ* in margin in s. h., for *he wile* er.; cf. edit.'s note.

l. 17594. *grikkisshe.* K.

l. 17595. W. and H. read *Mycrocossmós* with accent on the last *o,* K. has *-mos,* as he says the edit. has taken the *f*-stroke in *affterr* which is over *-mos* for an accent. It is to be noticed, however, that the stroke in question may be meant as an accent on *-mos* as well; cf. *cossmós* ll. 17559, 17592.

l. 17623. *o; nn* in s. h.

ll. 17657, 17669. *on.*

l. 17702. *þı̄; n* in s. h.

l. 17708. *3et;* edit. *3ēt.* K.

l. 17716. *Ankennedd;* cf. edit.'s note and K.

ll. 17725, 17740. *mı̄; n* in s. h.

l. 17751. *But;* edit. *Būt.*

l. 17772. *uppon.*

l. 17792. After *fl-* in *fleþ* an er. K.

l. 17873. *tatt – þuss* over er.; cf. K.

l. 17928. *witt tu wel* see l. 9789.

l. 17942. *bar.* K.

l. 17945. *tunnderrganngenn;* cf. l. 10661.

l. 17950. *Butt;* edit. *Būt.*

l. 17975. *alle* in margin. K.

l. 18086. Add to edit.'s note: *alls uss se33þ þe boc* er.

l. 18101. *baptisste.* K.

l. 18134. *fot;* edit. *fōt.* K.

l. 18174. *dredenn;* W. has *drædenn,* K. *dreden.*

l. 19882. After *blisse* two letters er. K.

l. 19908. *þære.*

l. 19912. *na.*

l. 19941. *seȝþ.*

l. 19942. *Macheronnte;* I am unable to decide if the stroke on *o* is meant to be an accent, or if it belongs to a word er.

l. 19954. *grimm—me.* K.[1]

[1] Some of the corrections given above are rather important from a phonological point of view. Thus, for instance, the ghost-form *hoff* (> *hof*) 14676, which has been subjected to many attempts at an explanation. Cf. Effer p. 186, Lambertz § 74, Anm. 3, Thüns p. 32, Zenke p. 12, Luick § 388 and Anm. 1. Notice also *hirrd* > *hird* 10926 (cf. Eilers p. 69), *minndiȝnesse* > *mindiȝnesse* 11508 (cf. Eilers p. 63), *stahh* > *stah* 17369, *well* > *wel* 6558, 6869, 19555 (cf. Holthausen pp. 16 foll.), *nehh* > *neh* 19787. The 5 *drohh* (6822, 10892, 11907, 16856, 19317) have been reduced to one (6822), which is no doubt a miswriting for *droh* (19 *droh*!). Cf. Luick, Effer, Lambertz, Zenke l. c. and p. 93. My opinion as to the puzzling spellings *butt* (30×), *bűtt* (10035), *bűtt* 3567, 12215, 12392, 13802, 15938 16006, 16038), *bůt* (1662), *bůtan* 12233 (alongside with *buten, abutenn*), *buttan* (6336) may be briefly indicated: The vowel in *butt* is short (cf. Luick Gr. § 354, 1 and Anm.). The accents, regarding which I do not share Deutschbein's views, have probably been put in later and by mistake placed on *butt* owing to confusion with *űt* (cf. *űtt* 8530—1). The spellings *bůtan*, *buttan* (Lambertz § 180 and Anm.) are to be read *bůt* (miswriting for *butt*) *an (þatt) butt an (þatt)* = 'except that only' (< OE *þæt an*).

I. Corrections in h. B.

B.'s handwriting has been briefly but correctly described by W. in a note on l. 73 where he says: «These alterations, (i. e. *-nesse* > *-leȝc*) are made in a ruder but apparently contemporary hand, to which reference is made in the notes under the letter B» (see Facs. 2). As to the colour of the ink it is true that B.-text is often written in somewhat pale ink (cf. K. p. 2) but that is no test, as the same colour is found in A.-text. As a rule we find the h. B. in the numerous marginal insertions which have been substituted for passages erased in the text, occasionally in marginal additions. Roughly speaking, there are about 250 marginal insertions in the O. and the majority of them, or about 200, I consider to be in h. B. In addition over a hundred superpositions (insertions) of final *n* are due to the same h. With regard to the aim these corrections have in view they may be divided into two chief groups: 1. Corrections of a formal character, 2. Corrections which bear upon the contents and as a rule are of a more or less theological character.

Group 1.

a. B.-corrections bearing upon accidence.

One of the most conspicuous peculiarities of the second h. is the way in which he has dealt with the inflection of the emphatic pronoun *sellf*. The ending *-enn* is erased ll. 900, 1079, 1090, 1252, 1306, 3192, 4162, 4227, 4868, 5353, 7403, 8685, 9133, 9353, 10142, 11252, 11815, 14550, 16602, 16877, 17168 and 19308 but added in ll. 3562, 3614, 11989,

17643. (See edit.'s notes on the respective ll.) In order to save the metre other slight alterations were made, so that the number of syllables remained unchanged. It is easy to see what B. aimed at by these alterations. A used the two forms *sellf* and *sellfenn* in the sing. quite indiscriminately: *I me sellf* 12592, *he wollde himm sellfenn* 10, *tu mahht te sellf* 11987, *arrt te sellfenn 1252* in the nom.; after prep. *þurrh himmsellf* 851, *þurrh me sellfenn* D. 43, *forr himmsellf* 3562, *forr þe sellfenn* 6155. B. has introduced a certain regularity in this respect, restricting *sellf* to the nom. sing. and using *sellfenn* in oblique cases. Sometimes the corrections according to this rule were brought about by a prep. being put in before *sellfenn,* such a construction having been chosen that the original nom. became an accus. This is seen in ll. 3041, 16428, 9912, 17584. Where it was not possible to make such alterations without violating the metre, *sellf* or *sellfenn* are avoided altogether and other expressions put in, which is not infrequently the case: 10, 310, 1345, 9918. 11259, 11414, 12597, 15747, 17566, 19022, 19300, 19308, 19578, 19668, 19732, 19734.

Still, there are a few instances which have not been altered according to the principle mentioned. That is the case with *þurrh drihhtin sellf* 9367 and *till crist selly* 18227. In one respect, however, these cases differ from those which have been corrected, *sellf* here being preceded by a noun, not by a pers. pronoun, so it might be suggested that *sellf* in this position was the proper form even in B.'s opinion. But this is not very likely, since inflected forms are met with in the same position: *þurrh godd allmahhtiȝ sellfenn* 4131, *off crist sellfenn* 11929—30. The regularity aimed at by B. does not allow of more than one alternative. I am therefore inclined to think that they have simply been overlooked by B., an explanation which must also be assumed for *himm sellfenn*[1] 14944 (nom.), and *i þe sellf* 1190, 1288. It is not to be wondered at if in so great a MS as the O. words and forms which it was intended to correct, escaped the corrector's notice. As we shall see later on, this is often the case.

[1] It is to be noticed that *sellfenn* is here over er.

l. 19300 *þiss birrþ þe full wel trowwenn* requires a special explanation. Here *þe sellfenn* has been erased and the two words *full wel* added in the margin, as we are also informed in the edit. note on this l. But a reconstruction of the original text according to this information would be *þiss birrþ þe þe sellfenn trowwenn,* which is impossible for two reasons: First we get eight syllables instead of seven, which is the number expected, secondly *þe sellfenn,* an acc. depending on *birrþ,* which in the O. with few exceptions has an impersonal construction, would have been erased by B., contrary to the principle adopted by him. The true explanation is that *birrþ þe,* being over er., is also in h. B., which implies that there was originally another word instead, perhaps *mahht, mihht* or *shallt,* anyhow a verb in 2nd pers. pres., by which *þe sellfenn* was made a nom., the form that gave rise to all these alterations. It may be objected that such a verb-form must have ended in *-t;* consequently the pronominal word which followed would have been *te,* not *þe,* according to the consistent use in the O. (cf. p. 106). That may also have been the case and may explain why this pronoun was erased at all, for if *þe sellfenn* was written first, it would have been enough to erase the latter word only. cf. an analogous correction l. 1252.

A doubtful case is l. 18936, where we have *3iff þe33 hemm sellf ne wolldenn,* there being an illegible er. after *sellf* and *ne* being put in the margin (cf. edit. note). The er. makes us suspect that the l. was first written *3iff þe33 hemm sellfenn wolldenn,* an inflection of *sellf* that is expected to be quite correct even in the reviser's opinion, as such examples as *te33 hemm sellfenn* 17860, *3e 3uw sellfenn* 17952 are left unaltered. Besides, *ne,* inserted in the marg., gives a meaning which is contextually out of place and quite opposite to the one apparently intended by A. The edit. thinks that *ne* is a scribal error for *-enn,* which supposition implies that a monosyllabic word *(itt?)* was erased or left out by mistake and that *hemm sellf* was first written.

These B.-corrections show us A.'s use of *sellf* and *sellfenn:* sing. *sellf* or *sellfenn* in all positions, plur. *sellfenn*

with the exception of *te33 hemm sellf* 18936, which is obscure and corrupt.[1] But since we have reason to suspect that in the O. endings, at least *-e*, were sometimes dropped or added for metrical reasons (see p. 11 fol. below), we cannot *a priori* draw the conclusion that this use of *sellf*, in the O. also prevailed in ordinary prose and in the spoken language in O.'s day. On the other hand a similar use in other ME documents seems to favour the assumption that this really was the case. In »Vices and Virtues» we meet with: sing. *ic me self, ðu þe seluen*, acc. *himseluen* or *himselu*, plur. always *-seluen* (Philippsen p. 118). In Peterborough Chron. (later part) the uninflected form is found in the plur.: *of hem self, of heom sælf* (Behm p. 59, Meyer p. 74). In Layamon (A.-t.) only one form seems to be used in nom. sing., viz. the uninflected *self (seolf)*, in obl. cases. inflected forms: *seolfan, seolfne, seolue;* plur. occasionally *seolf* in the nom., generally *selve*, obl. cas. *seoluen, seolue* (Witte, l. c., p. 126), i. e. on the whole the same inflection as is aimed at by B. Rob. Glouc., on the contrary, has the same interchange of inflected and uninflected forms in the sing. as the A.-t. in the O., *himself, himsulue* in nom. and cas. obl., nom. plur. *homsulf*, acc. *homsulf* and *homsulue*, after prep. *homsuelve* (Pabst, Anglia 13 pp. 291—2).

If we turn to OE texts, traces of a similar use are found even there. In Aelfred *self* when emphasizing a pers. pron. agrees with its headword and is generally strongly inflected. On the other hand, however, when a pleonastic dative of a pers. pron. came to stand between the headword and *self*, the latter was either uninflected or put in the nom. (Wülfing, Syntax I, p. 352—3). This twofold use seems to be continued and developed further in ME. O.'s *sellfenn* probably goes back to OE *sylfum*, the only weak form recorded in Aelfred being *selfa (sylfa)* (Wülfing l. c.). Of all the inflexional forms of 'self' *selfum* > *selfan* > *selfen(n)* was the

[1] Cf. the old view on this question: »Auch in der Flexion zeigt O. eine lobenswerte consequenz. Regel ist bei ihm: Nom. sg. u. pl. 'sellf', casus obl. 'sellfenn'. Ausnahmen sind selten, vgl. v. 17952» (Witte, Engl. Stud. II, p. 130 footnote). Sachse (p. 47) considers the alterations to be corrections made by O. himself.

one most fitted to survive, partly because in the transition period all the other forms were levelled under the form *selfe*, partly because it was the most common (masc. neut. sing., plur. all genders). Consequently it gradually became the only remaining inflected form for all cases and genders. Hence in the O. nom. sing. *sellf*, elsewhere *sellfenn*. But as in the nom. *sellf* was often preceded by a pers. pron. which was originally a dative, it could agree either with this pronoun or with the subject of the sentence.[1] Hence *sellf* or *sellfenn*. The use of the uninflected *sellf* in obl. cas. sing. and in plur. seems to be a further development of the tendency in OE just mentioned, where, as is seen from the examples in Wülfing, *self* often occurred in the plur. It is possible that this tendency began in the combination noun + *sellf*, the inflexion of the noun often being less conspicuous than that of the pers. pron.

It would therefore appear that O.'s use of *sellf* and *sellfenn* is not individual or arbitrary but characteristic of his period and dialect. B.'s alterations, on the contrary, seem to be due to a puristic tendency.

In ll. 73, [1170][2], 1544, 4648, 6276 the suffix *-ness(e)*[3] has been erased and replaced by *-le33c*. The latter suffix is found in the margin for an illegible word erased at ll. 4622, 4706, 4746, 7523; finally it is found over illegible er. ll. 1768, 4628, 5706. There can scarcely be any doubt that in these cases too *-ness(e)* was first written. In all the instances given *-ness(e)* stands as the last syllable of the second half-l.[4] and must therefore have been counted as a monosyllable by A., at least metrically. This is very unusual, as otherwise the suffix *-nesse* in the O., of which instances

-nesse > *le33c*.

[1] cf. NED under 'self'.

[2] On my revision of the MS I failed to notice the correction in this l., nor does the edit. mention it in his notes, but it is distinctly seen in Skeat's Facsim. To judge from this it seems to have been made *p. m.* cf. edit. note on l. 73.

[3] Whether *-ness* or *-nesse* is erased is hard to see, but in ll. 1170, 1544, 4648 *-nesse* seems to have been written.

[4] As to the metre in the O., see edit.'s Preface p. LXV, Schipper in Paul's Grundr. 2:2 p. 208, Saintsbury, Hist. of Engl. Prosody p. 38, Menthel, Anglia 8, p. 76 foll.

abound, is dissyllabic except before a vowel or an aspirate where *-e* is elided. It is true that in eight of the twelve cases given above *-ness(e)* stands before a vowel, but it must be borne in mind that immediately after this syllable the caesura is placed, indicated in the MS by a metrical point, and there is no instance of an elision in such a position. That is of course the reason why B. disapproves of *-nesse*, which for him is a dissyllable, and replaces it by the monosyllable *-leȝȝc*. The question that interests us, however, is: Was there (in A.'s dialect) a form *-ness* by the side of *-nesse* or is *-ness* only a metrical form?

Like most strong fem. subst. those in *-nesse* < OE *-ness* have also assumed an *-e* even in cases where it was not etymologically justified, owing to influence from the *e*-forms in obl. cases (Sachse pp. 10—21, Kaluza, Hist. Gr. § 305). Sachse (p. 17) enumerates no less than 21 instances of *-nesse* in the nom. There are two noteworthy exceptions, however, *liccness* in the expression *þeȝȝ hafenn liccness metedd* 1047, 1057, and *wittness*, of which there are at least 10 examples, the suffix *-ness* always being monosyllabic, even in obl. cases, where *-e* regularly appeared in OE: *we wittness sinndenn* 16687, *þatt wittness* (acc.) 16690, *to wittness* 18905 (cf. Sachse p. 18). These exceptions are not easily accounted for but they offer no exact parallel to the cases under discussion because they differ from them in two respects: (1) they constantly appear without an *-e* (2) the suffix *-ness* has ceased to be living and cannot be exchanged for *-leȝȝc*.[1] Besides these words there was a whole group of subst., a few *o*-stems, but most of them *i*-stems, which did not assume an inorganic *-e* but were levelled under the *e*-less form occurring in the nom. and acc. of subst. with a long stem-vowel. (Sachse pp. 13, 18—19). Only a few fluctuate, having sometimes followed the *e*-pattern, sometimes the *e*-less one, as is shown by Sachse p. 14. But I do not think that this explanation holds good for the instances in *-ness(e)*, as the majority of them always appear with *-e*. This is also the case with the subst. in *-inng*, *-unng*. When occasionally

[1] One might be inclined to think that this circumstance has caused them to be felt as plurals if it were not for the form *þatt wittness*.

an *e*-vowel occurs, it is, with one single exception, (Sachse p. 19) necessary for the metre, so that it is likely to have been added for metrical reasons. An opposite phenomenon, i. e. loss of final *-e*, is met with in *le(o)m* < OE *leoma*, of which I have found 14 instances by the side of 17 *leome*. The compound *steorrneleom* always occurs without *-e* (cf. Sachse p. 26). Brate (p. 36) suggests that these forms are due to assimilation to the masc. *a*-stems, which suggestion may be supported by the fact that *le(o)m* generally occurs in the expression *lihht* > *leom*. But on the other hand it should be noticed that both *leom* and *-leom* appear exclusively as the last syllable of the first half-l., i. e. the same position as the 12 instances of *-ness*, where a monosyllable is required. *leome*, on the contrary, appears also in other positions. This can scarcely be due to mere chance but rather to the strict measure in the O. It is possible that the same is true of *bucc* (< OE *bucca*) and *will* (< OE *willa*), the latter occasionally occurring by the side of *wille*, although they may be accounted for in another way (Sachse p. 26).

From this discussion we are justified in drawing the conclusion that the comparatively few examples of *-ness* found in ictus do not reflect a monosyllabic pronunciation of the suffix *-nesse* in O.'s time, but that they are metrical forms due to carelessness on the part of the author. It may be added that sporadic nom. in *-nisse, -nysse* are found in R^1, R^2, Li (Sievers, Gr. § 258 Anm. 1.), which shows that this word-group began to assume an inorganic *-e* very early. A. himself (cf. footnote[3] p. 5) seems to have considered *-ness* as being inappropriate, because in the later part of the MS *-le33c* is exclusively used in the same position, e. g. 8011, 9825, 11124, 11655, 12266, 14408, 18769, 19297.

A similar series of alterations is also restricted to the former part of the MS. One subst., one adj., and some poss. pronouns, all monosyllabic, when uninflected, have the ending *-e* in A.-text. This ending is in the following cases erased by B.: *gode* (dat.) *cweme* > *godd full cweme* 5201, 6043, 7772, *gode wille* (acc.) > *a33 god wille* 3383, 3929, 3955, 3969, *mine wille* (acc.) > *a33 min wille* 2957, *gode* > *godd* etc.

fra þine wille > *all fra þin wille* 4139.[1] *göde cweme* 1952 and *gode wille* 3007, although literally identical with the two first alterations and having the same position in the verse, are left uncorrected but have no doubt been overlooked by the reviser.

As in the preceding case we have to investigate whether this final *-e*, erased by B., is in accordance with the common usage in O.'s language. If that is not the case, we are entitled to believe that *-e* was added for the same reason as it had been dropped in *-nesse*.

With regard to the first case, *gode*, where *-e* represents the old dative ending, an investigation shows that, except in this word, this ending is never found in datives like *gode*, i. e. standing as an object.[2] Even of *godd* itself the *e*-less dative form is met with several times, apart from the instance in l. 466, which probably is B.-t. (cf. edit. note and p. 68), viz. 1453, 2715, *godd 7 menn full cweme* 9116, *godd full cweme* 13647. Note also *þe laþe gast* (dat.) 2005, *þe preost* (dat.) 2127 besides others.[3] Even when occurring after prepositions which originally govern the dat. the monosyllabic masc. o-stems have mostly dropped their *-e*, although it is sometimes found: *att godd* D. 138, *off godd* D. 145, *att te dom* 649, *wiþþutenn . . camb* 6340, *off stan* (before a vowel) 4129, *afterr daþ* 6100, *wiþþutenn dæw* 9883, *fra daȝȝ to daȝȝ* 11005, *off godess mup* 11713 etc. Many nouns, however, exhibit *e*-forms by the side of *e*-less ones or only those with *-e*: *fra dæþ* 13415, *fra dæþe* 8126, *off dæþe* D. 168, D. 222, 4108 (before a vowel), *off dæþ* 4042, *off þe flod* 10860, *upp flode* 14547, *att hame* 2394, 12985, *to king* 8449, 14902, *to kinge* 8154, 8370, *off . . loff* 10009, 10742, *to lofe 7 wurrþe* 1141, 1621, 3375, *off þatt slæp* 3152, *off slæpe anan* 3136, *o slæpe* 8352, 8375, *i tun* 3298, 10624, 11058, 14004, *i tune* 8512, *to tun* 3290, 8511, *to tune* 9160, 18071, *off . . tun* 10590, 12272, 13454, *off tune* 19664. Of *gillt*, originally an *i*-stem but declined like an *o*-stem as early as in OE (Sievers Gr.

[1] The corrections ll. 3955, 3069, 7772 are not mentioned by the edit.

[2] The nouns which have assumed an inorganic *-e* in all the sing. are of course discarded here.

[3] For other instances see Funke, p. 49 foll.

§ 265), there is an interchange of *e-* and *e*-less forms: *off . . gillt* 5452, *off . . gillte* 1159, *wiþþutenn gillt* 8723, 9775, *wiþþutenn (hise) gillte* 15525, 17029, 19644, *forr þatt gillt* 5, 928, *forr gillte* 22, 1129, *þurrh . . gillt* 4252, *þurrh . . gillte* 12291. Note also *inn welle* 19718. Of the cons. stem *mann* we find *to manne* (before a vowel) D. 183 by the side of *to þe mann* 7192 and *hanndfesst an god mann* (dat.) 2389. cf. also *till crist* 11898, *till criste* 1281, *uppo crist* 8493, *uppo criste* 6933.

In the case of the monosyllabic neuter stems the occurrence of *-e* in the dat. is on the whole the same: *att inn, -e, inn hus, -e, to lac, -ke, to land, -e, o lif, -e, wiþþ word, -e, o writt, o write.* Only two instances of *-e* before a vowel are found: *wiþþ childe* 2455, *o lande* 7226. cf. also *forr gode* 6643, 10311 (= for good purpose, see gloss. p. 465) but *forr ure god* D. 215, D. 233; *to soþe* D. 110, 13809 (A.-t.), 234, 1275 etc. (B.-t. cf. p. 41) but *to fulle soþ* (also in B.-t.) alongside with *to fulle soþe* 18249 (occasionally). Probably < OE *to-soþan;* cf. also *to wisse* 8460 < OE *to wissum.*

In dissyllabic stems, both masc. and neut., on the contrary, this *-e* never appears.

To sum up. A few monosyllabic nouns of the same type as *godd* have preserved the old dative ending in O.'s dialect when preceded by prep. originally governing the dative, as is shown by instances before vowels, thus *off dæþe, to lofe, to manne, off slæpe* and the two above-mentioned neuter stems. Where *e*-forms alone appear, e. g. *att hame, uppo flode, in welle,* it is probable that *-e* had not been dropped. But with regard to the majority of the examples in which there is an interchange of forms with and without *-e,* it is questionable whether this fluctuation really occurred in ordinary prose. As we have seen before, the metre plays no small part with regard to the adding or dropping of a final *-e*, and we have therefore to reckon with the possibility that in such nouns as occur exclusively before a cons. or at the and of a l. the dative *-e* has been added because the metre required a dissyllabic word. That is undoubtedly the case with *godc,* first because the dative *-e* was very rarely kept, if the doubtful cases are left out of consideration, secondly because the occurrence of a dat. *godd*

before a vowel (9116) indicates that the *e*-less form was the one commonly used. I am therefore of opinion that the correction *gode* > *godd* was in accordance with the common usage in O.'s day; cf. Gnerlich, Engl. Stud. VI, p. 267, Menthel p. 78—9.

The same is probably the case with the adj. *gode,* as the final *-e* is, as a rule, not found in this position (acc. sing.). The OE case-endings have disappeared and the adj. is uninflected in the sing. except when it was preceded by a defining word[1], in which case it assumed the ending *-e*. The same ending was used in the plur. (cf. Sachse § 43). There are many exceptions to this rule, but an intentional effort to uphold the distinction between the strong and the weak inflection is distinctly seen.

As to the monosyllabic adj. the only instances of an *-e* in acc., apart from the five cases of *gode,* are *shorrte lif, shorrte sellþe* 12171—2.[2] Thus, if cases such as *stille*[3], *grimme,* in which an inorganic *-e* has been extended to the whole sing., are excepted, we find an overwhelming majority of examples of monosyllabic *e*-less adjectival forms in the acc. of all genders:

dep innsihht 7 *witt* 7084, *god mahht* D. 241, 19646, *sellþe* 1926, *dede* 7822, *lare* 10244, *wittness* 17953, *læn* D. 144, *lusst* D. 241, 19646, *mann* 2369 (insert. A.-text), *bisne*[4] 2638, *werrc* 5925, *ræd* 8791, *wasstme* 9964, 10080, 10771, *win* 14062, *wille* 19646, *tiþennde* D. 176, *harrd . . . pine* (before a vowel) 1442 (B.-t.), *herrte* 1545, *lif* 1612, *heh wurrþshipe* 18363, *rihht shriffte* (MS *shrffte*) 6613, *sec mann* 6165, *soþ sahhtnesse* P. 68, *meocnesse* 4940, *unnshaþinesse* 1171, *rewwsinng* 13862, *berrhless* D. 138, D. 314, *crist* P. 37, *lihht* 7 *leome* 1906, *meoclezzc* 1170, *strang mahht* 7896, *wraþþe* 19558, *niþ* 14461, *trigg . . . griþþ* (before a vowel) P. 69, *wac mahht* 7898.

It should also be noticed that these *e*-forms always

[1] The defining word is often a gen. of a noun; for examples see Sachse p 33.

[2] *rihhte læfe* 6523 may be taken as a nom. or an acc.

[3] Cf. *stille der* 1177 (nom.), *arrt tesellf . .* 7 *stille* 7 *lipe* 1306—7. For *grimme* see Sachse p. 35.

[4] *Full god* 7 *halsumm bisne* 2915 is in B.-text.

appear before consonants, whereas we have four instances of *e*-less forms before a vowel. Under such circumstances there can be no doubt that in adjectives of this type the uninflected form was the rule in O.'s dialect and that the comparatively few deviations, the erased instances of *gode* included, are due to the metre. If they were the result of a confusion between strong and weak inflection, the *e*-forms would have been more numerous. Another indirect proof that the *e*-less forms were predominant is afforded by instances such as *an new king* (acc.) 7149, *wiþþ new* 7 *unncuþ sterrne* 7101, *wasstme swēt* 7 *god* (acc.) 10039. Here the loss of the organic *-e* in the original *jo*-stems must be explained as due to analogy with the numerous *o*-stems.

After a prepos. things are different. In this position the *e*-forms are so numerous compared with those without *-e* that it is doubtful whether they should be regarded as exceptions to the rule given above. The instances found are as follows:

e-less forms: *butenn rihht rewwsunnge* 9882, *forr soþ godd* 6680, *fra soþ meocnesse* 4939, *i swa shorrt while* 16279, *soþ meocnesse* 18459, *inntill niþ hellepine* 13677, *off de(o)þ lare* 7205, 11970 (before a vowel), *god ȝæpleȝȝc* 2523, 2551, *god... shriffte* 7850, 7856 (before a vowel), 7862 (before a vowel), *soþ crist* P. 43, *soþ clænleȝȝc* 2523, *soþ meocnesse* 10915, 18433, *þurrh ful forrleȝerrnesse* 2032, 4437, *laþ unnherrsummnesse* 7504, *rihht shriffte* 7875, *soþ unnshaþinesse* D. 212, *trigg... læfe* (before a vowel), *wiþþ derrf spæche* 19598, *fasst.. laf* 1602, *harrd... lif* (before a vowel) 3230, *rihht dom* 1413, 7318, 10564, *soþ meocnesse* 10919, *soþ meocleȝȝc* 2605, *soþ unnshaþinesse* 6101, *wiþþutenn soþ meocnesse*, *ȝæn god mann* 5545.

e-forms: *off soþe lufe* 2581, *inntill rihhte læfe* 3549, *till rihhte læfe* 1497, *to rihhte læfe* 3441, *fulle soþ(e)* D. 221, 1358, 18249 etc., *wiþþ fulle trowwþe* 678, 1347, 2302, 13801, 17462, 17664, 18938, *fulle mahhte* D. 119, *fulle wille* 5927, 5931, *rihhte læfe* 1537, *þurrh rihhte læfe* 1407, 19004. For the substantivized *forr gode* see p. 9.

Sachse (§ 43) is of the opinion that in these cases *-e* has been added for metrical reasons, and there are really certain

facts that favour such an assumption. First the *e*-less forms are in the majority, and further they often appear before vowels, whereas this is never the case with the *e*-forms. Thus *soþe* for instance, occurring only once after the prep. *off* (while of the same adj. and in a similar position there are several instances without *-e*, even before a vowel) seems in fact to be a metrical form. On the other hand expressions such as *wiþþ fulle trowwþe*, *inntill (till, to) rihhte læfe* recur with such consistency that they can scarcely be looked upon as being only fictitious. An argument, however, which in my opinion weighs most against the above-mentioned assumption is the fact that B. himself several times inserts *to fulle soþ* as a substitute for expressions he disapproves of (see below p. 41) e. g. at ll. 111, 2519, 5862, 6988, 10900. Once (l. 8047) it has been erased but not for the sake of the *e*-form (cf. below p. 47). It is true that B. is not absolutely consistent in his corrections, but it is not very likely that the scribe who was so anxious to remove certain inadvertencies made by A. to save the metre, should have availed himself of the same method. It would therefore seem that the *e*-forms — perhaps with the exception of *soþe* — existed in B.'s dialect and very likely also in that of A. They cannot have been very common but were apparently restricted to a few expressions which became fixed at an early period and which therefore preserved their inflection under the form of *-e*, which may represent OE *-ne* and *-re* as well as *-e*. Another factor that may have contributed to the retention of the *e*-vowel was the rhythm, as by the loss of *-e* a sequence of two strong syllables would arise (cf. Jespersen, Gr. I p. 156).

Finally a few cases may be mentioned which, in spite of their being preceded by a defining word, show loss of *-e*: *off hiss full nāþc* 18362, *þurrh þatt rihht hallf* 653 (Sachse § 47), *inn hiss rihht haund* 8181. cf. also *o rihht hallf* 144, 626. Of these the instances of *rihht* are only apparent exceptions to the general usage. Since OE times *riht* in the sense of 'dexter' + the noun 'hand' had been felt as a sort of compound. From this combination it was then transferred to other nouns. The *e*-less form in this sense seems always

to be used in the ME texts: c. 1050 Nicodemus *be þære ryht handa*, Layamon *mi riht ærm*, *an heore riht hond*. Lamb. Hom. *a richt halue*, a. 1240 Creed in OE Hom. *o godes rithond* (NED, Bosw.—Toller). See also Pabst, Anglia 13 p. 273. The same explanation cannot be applied to *off hiss full nåpe* which consequently is the only deviation from the general rule. cf. *wiþþ all hiss fulle wille* D. 200, P. 10, P. 16, P. 20, P. 32, 5927 etc., *wiþþ hiss fulle kinde* 18355. It is probably due to the metre.

As to the last instances of an *-e* being erased by B. *mine* (acc.) > *min*, *fra þine* > *þin*, these have been corrected in accordance with the same principles as in the preceding cases. The poss. pronouns *mi(n)* and *þi(n)* are with a few exceptions uninflected in the entire sing. Thus in acc. (all genders) *mi(n)* and *þi(n)* are met with: *min wille* 17167, *min heorrte* 2973, *þin drihhtin* 1586, *tin moderr* 1607 etc. After prep. too the *e*-less forms predominate: *affterr þin mahhte* 5252, *forr þin preost* 6154, *fra min gast* 16240, *fra þin lare* 18283, *i þin heorrte* 1263, *fe* 12226, *lusst* 12286 etc. But just as in the case of the monosyllabic adj. so here too there are a group of set phrases where *e*-forms appear exclusively, even the correct form *min*, due to attraction from *mine þine*, is met with in these expressions, which are as follows:

affterr þine fere 1251, 4429, 6135, *forr þine nede* 4389, 4401, 4411, 4425, 4443, *forr hise nede* 11041, *i mine walde* 12010, *inn hise walde* 4093, 12397, 16457, *wiþþutenn hise gillte* 15525, 17029.

Also in connection with the adverbial expression *þannkess* < OE *panes* 'of one's own accord': *þine þannkess* 6249, *hise þannkess* 16, 3971, 5587, 7195, 11467, 15139. cf. *hiss unnþannkess* 7194.

The instances after prep. correspond in use and position to the *e*-forms of the monosyllabic adj. and are to be explained in the same way. As to the *e*-forms modifying *þannkess* the illustrative example *hiss unnþannkesse* (before a vowel) shows that *hise* in this connection was not the prevailing form. Metrical influence is therefore not quite out of the question. In OE the preceding poss. pronoun agreed

with the following gen.: *ðines, mines, his, heora þances* (Bosw.—T.). As late as in Lamb. Hom. we find *þines þonces* (NED). The ending *-e* may represent the old *-es*, although it has totally disappeared elsewhere[1] (cf. *þin flæshess will* 6748, *i þin herrtess hus* 7374), or *þannkess* might be felt as a plur. For both the groups influence from the dissyllabic *ure, ȝure, þeȝȝre* is possible. Cf. *forr ure ned(e)* 1341, 5976, *þeȝȝre þannkess* 7190, *þeȝȝre ... unn-* 7189.

ho for *ȝho*

l. 452 was first written *þatt naffde ho næfr ær tæmedd* but was erased by B. and replaced by *þatt naffde ȝho nohht tæmedd* (see edit. note on l. 452). What immediately strikes us here as being unparalleled in the O. is the form *ho* for *ȝho*. At first sight one might be inclined to believe the form to be spurious, but considering that a word beginning with a vowel or an aspirate is required for the elision of *-e* in *naffde*, which in its turn is necessary for the metre, it seems pretty certain that the form is authentic and was first written in h. A. That is evidently the reason why the passage was altered, as the meaning of the substituted l. is quite the same as that of the original one. Consequently there existed a form *ho* by the side of *ȝho* in O.'s dialect, although it is hard to say to what extent it was used in the spoken language. To judge from this only instance by the side of hundreds of *ȝho*, the latter form was the regular one in A's dialect too. But he had evidently heard and knew the form *ho* and was tempted to use it in his verse occasionally when the metre required a word before which elision could take place.

The origin and spread of *ho* has recently been dealt with by the Swedish scholar Lindkvist in Anglia 1921, 1 ff., who has shown that this pronoun was the prevailing form in the West Midland area, »especially the Northern half of it» (p. 48). This may be of importance on deciding the dialect of O.

helle > *helless*

In l. 18860 the ending *-ss* is added in later h., very likely in h. B. (cf. edit. and Sachse). The alteration implies that the *s*-gen. is preferred to the one without *-s*. Now original fem. nouns of all stems have mostly as-

[1] Except in the similar expression *wisslikess þingess* 3186; cf. the OE adv. *ungewisses*.

sumed the *s*-gen. in the O.: *laress* 16778, *lufess* 12876, *trowwþess* 4015, *galnessess, clænnessess, gluterrnessess, æddmodnessess* etc. (cf. Sachse p. 20), and so far the alteration is in accordance with the ordinary usage. But still there are many instances of the old ending *-e* having been preserved. Some of them show fluctuation, as *sawle, sawless* (see p. 16), *þeode* 8503, 8515, 12810, *þeodess* 12214. A few nouns exhibit only the ending *-e*: *frofre gast* 757, 10554, 10986, 11001 etc., *rode pine* 12633, *witezhunnge writt*[1] 15298. In one case the *e*-gen. has even been transferred to an original neuter *o*-stem[2], viz. *kinne* 13653 by the side of the usual *kinness, mannkinne* (the usual form 1437, 5314, 10815, 13489, 13495, 17452, 18852, 19390) by the side of *mannkinness* 9960. Of *helle* itself three *s*-forms are found: 7964, 10214, 17788. The *e*-forms are in the majority, but many of them, perhaps all, may be taken for the first element of a compound. The O. abounds in such combinations: *helle dæþ, helle fir, helle grund, helle pine, helle pitt, helle þeod, hellewa(wenn), helle waress*. Although it is impossible to decide exactly whether all these combinations are compounds or not, it is very probable that many of them are. Thus *helle waress*, which no doubt goes back to OE *hellwara* without any connecting vowel. cf. also OE *hellwerod, hellcniht, hellcwalu*, which have a sense related to that of O.'s *hellepine, hellewa*. cf. Bergsten pp. 34, 103, 105. If these and similar cases are disregarded, there remain only two certain gen. sg. in *-e*, viz. *off helle walde* 62, *inn helle wel*[3] 19690. It is there-

[1] As an instance of a gen. sg. in *-e* in O. Emerson (Reader LXXXVII) gives among others *wicche*. This occurs only in combination with *crafftess* 7077 and is certainly the first member of a compound < OE *wicce cræft*. The same is probably the case with *asse* in *asse cribbe* 3711.

[2] Perhaps this is due to confusion with *kind* < OE *ȝecynd, -u, -o* (Sievers, Gr. § 267 b, Anm. 4).

[3] Lambertz p. 25 asserts that this word *wel* is identical with the adv. *wel, well,* and thence it would follow that *helle* is not a gen. The edit., on the contrary, identifies it with *welle* OE *wielle, wælle, welle,* recorded twice in the O., *off hiss godnessess welle* 19320, *inn haliȝ gastess welle* 19718. Both are wrong. *wel* only occurs once apart from the expressions above, *in hefiȝ sinness depe wel* 15400, and goes back to OE *wæl* meaning 'pool', 'pit', EModE *weel* (Cent. Dict.) OLG *wala* (Schade)

fore not surprising that the reviser added *-ss* in the syntactical group (i. e. noun + noun) *helle þessterrnesse* to distinguish it from *helle wa,* which may be a compound.

sawless > *sawle*

The opposite phenomenon is met with l. 6557, where in the expression *off ure sawless nede* the *-ss* in *sawless* is erased (edit. note on this l.). Of course it cannot be decided from the erasure alone that it has been made in h. B. It is only supposed to be so from the resemblance of this correction to the former one. It is not easy, however, to see the purpose of the alteration, as we do not know if either *sawle* or *sawless* is meant to be gen. sg. or plur. The context leaves room for both these interpretations. Things are made still more complicated by the fact that *e-* and *s-*genitives of original fem. nouns alternate in the O. not only in the sg. but also in the plur. Under such circumstances only an investigation of the frequency of the different gen.-forms can give us a clue to this mystery. First, as regards *sawle* itself, 7 safe *s*-forms are found in the sg. (1852, 1868, 6588, 7037, 10634, 11686, 17780), but only 4 in *-e* (D. 138 P. 102, P. 103, 3653), that is to say the *s*-forms preponderate, which is in accordance with what has been pointed out above (p. 15). Of the other instances, which are preceded by *ure, ȝure* or *þeȝre* and therefore doubtful as to their number, I have noted eleven *e*-forms, viz. *off ure sawle nede*[1] 10 ×, *off þeȝre sawle nede* 1 × (D. 36); four *s*-forms: *off ȝure sawless nede* 2 (254, 6517), *off ure sawless nede* 1 (11402), *till ure sawless hellþe* (4243) 1, *ȝure sawles(s) fode* 2 × (the two last instances, 11688, 11691, prob. sg.). But in other nouns whose number we are able to decide exactly, is it the *s*-gen. or that without *-s* that is most current in the plur? If we turn to Sachse for information he tells us (pp. 9, 20, 21) that in original masc., fem. and neut. vocalic stems the *s*-form strongly preponderates. This statement may be true of the masculines and neuters but certainly not of the feminines. Of the latter I am not able to find more

< WG *ā*. It is a well-known word in ME: *helle wel* (Map; Stratmann). In Curs. M. it rhymes with *sel* (Strandberg p. 112).

[1] 244, (B.) 1816 (B.), 3493 (B.), 10687, 12621, 12831, 14081, 15635, 16755, 18005.

than one *s*-form in gen. plur., viz. *all þiss þrinne taless hæp* 4330, whereas there are 6 *shaffte* (346, 2159, 3589, 8869, 10762, 19893), 2 *mahhte* (4976, 4977), 1 *þede* (15989). Of the other stems the following *s*-forms are found: 7 *dazhess*, 1 *posstless* (accord. to gloss.), *prestess* 16008 (in B.-text), 3*eress* 8020, *barrness* 8044, *childess* 8050, *kinness* 9716, 9996, *menness* 386, 13293, *freondess* 3191, 9132; *neddress* 9755, 9763, 9771, *mineteress* in er. t. edit. note on l. 15807.

e-forms: 38 *kinne* (see edit.'s glossary), *kinge* 3588, *life* 3509, *horde* 6733, *neddre*[1] 9265, 9793, *þede* 15987, 16057, 6 (-)*manne* (2597, 4065, 7904, 7912, 10939, 12243), *breþre* 8293, *winnterr* 3207, 8900; probably also *follke*[2] 5293, 12149.

Hence it is seen that the *s*-genitive by no means predominates in the plur., and that of original fem. the gen. in *-e* is more current.[3] Therefore it would seem that in the 11 instances of *sawle nede* given above *sawle* is gen. plur. This does not preclude the possibility of *sawless* being used by the side of *sawle* in the plur., but the alteration *sawless* > *sawle* no doubt implies that the corrector held the latter to be the proper form in plur. As a matter of fact *sawle* in this function is an instance of »the survival of the fittest», as the *s*-form, being current in gen. sg., is more apt to cause ambiguity.

The assumption that this correction is made by B. is supported by the fact that *off ure sawle nede* occurs 3 times in B.-text: 244, 1816, 3493. cf. p. 52.

In l. 13973 the strong pret. part. *hezhenn* is altered into *hezhedd* in later h. (cf. edit. note) and as this alteration is

hezhenn > *hezhedd*

[1] In l. 9265 *neddre* is joined to the following word *streon* in H.'s edit., in l. 9793, on the contrary, the same words are written separately. It should be noticed that the MS gives no reliable information in such cases (see p. 107) and that H. has acted quite arbitrarily here as in many other similar cases. It is not very likely that the expression here under notice, which is a translation of the Latin 'genimina *uiperarum*', was felt as a compound.

[2] *all deofle follc* 10565 may be a compound.

[3] cf. Emerson, Reader p. LXXXVII, Note 1. »Rarely also, gen. plurals in *e* are found», i. e. in early Midland texts.

of the same puristic character as the preceding one, it is very likely in h. B.

Elsewhere the weak part. is always met with in A.-text, recorded no less than seven[1] times: 2641, 2648, 9204, 9602, 9624, 9644, 9646. That is also the form we expect, *hezhenn* being a new-formation from O. Angl. adj. *heh.* As far as I can see, the denominative formations found in the O. are all weak verbs: *bilappedd* (accord. to NED prob. from *lap*) 14267, *forrhoredd* 2043 (not given by Zenke), *lakedd*[2] 6491, *unnþæwedd* 2186, *þewwtedd* 549, *wraþþedd* 17846 etc. cf. also similar formations from Scand. loanwords *lazhedd* 3731 (Björkman, Loanwords p. 90). This being the case, it is astonishing to meet with such a form as *hezhenn.* The only verb that offers a parallel is *cwennkenn* < OE *acwenc(e)an,* which once has pret. part. *cwennkenn* (14585) by the side of the common *cwennkedd* (Zenke, pp. 18, 21). Both *hezhenn* and *cwennkenn* are probably miswritings on the part of A. As to the former it might be suggested that it is due to analogy with strong part. of a related sense such as *hofenn, risenn.* cf. the part. *lawene* in Alisaundre (NED under 'low') from ME *lazhenn* (O.), *lawenn* and Sievers, Gr. § 406, Anm. 7, Lambertz p. 69.

bigunnedd > *bigunnenn*

In this connection a similar alteration may be discussed, although it is uncertain whether it is in h. B. In l. 18206 the last *n* in *bigunnenn* (MS *bigunnēn*, cf. K. p. 14) is altered from an original *-dd,* which implies that a form *bigunnedd* was first written. This is no doubt a scribal error, the regular strong part. being recorded no less than 15 times (Zenke p. 8). Of all the verbs belonging to the same class not one instance of a weak pret. part. is found. On the whole the OE 'ablaut'-system is fairly preserved in the O. If forms such as *shadde—shadd, radde—redd, dredde—dredd, sleppte,*

[1] Zenke p. 18 gives only six.

[2] According to Zenke p. 14 O.'s *lakenn* = 'to serve', 'to sacrifice' goes back to the OE reduplic. verb *lacan* = 'to leap'; 'to play', and the weak pret. and part. *lakedenn, lakedd* are explained as being formed analogically after the II[nd] weak class. It seems rather to be a new formation from the subst. *lac* in the sense 'sacrifice', especially as the OE verb had another meaning. The same view is found in NED.

which were current already in OE, are excepted, there remain only a few examples of analogical weak formations: *lutenn — lutte, þutenn — þutedd, tredenn* (part. pret.) by the side of *trededd*.[1]

In the O. there is an interchange of *wifmann (-menn)* and the assimilated form *wimmann (-menn)*. All *f*-forms, however, are due to B., who has altered the first *m* into an *f*: *wimmann* > *wifmann* 291, 10408, 10415, 14019, 14020, 14339, 14370, *wimmenn* > *wifmenn* 3060, 4254, 7076, 15707, *wimmanne* > *wifmanne* 7912, *wimmannkinn* > *wifmannkinn* 3058. On the other hand the original form is left unaltered at ll. 2031, 2273, 2285, 2333, 2351, 2563, 2889, 16671 *(wimmann)*, 2061, 2350, 2416, 2430 *(wimmenn)*, 2314 *(wimmaness)*, 239, 2334, 2542 *(wimmannkinn)*. Consequently the assimilated form *wimmann* was consistently used in A.'s dialect, whereas the proper form according to B was *wifman*. It should not be taken for granted, however, that the latter is a dialectal form. Nearly all the B.-corrections show a puristic tendency, and to judge from that, it may be assumed that the corrected forms are due to traditional spelling. It is also possible that *wifmann* reflects an old-fashioned and more conservative pronunciation than *wimmann*, a theory which also would account for the numerous *n*-insertions (see below p. 20 foll.).

wimmann > *wifmann*

With regard to the origin and spread of the assimilated form, which needs a thorough special investigation, geographical and dialectical, a few hints may be given.

As early as in late WS. the assimilated forms often appear and seem to be predominant. Aelfric has *wimman, wimmen*, by the side of *wifman*, and in the MSS Corpus and Hatton of the WS Gospels *wimmann* is found Mark X, 21. The parallel passage in the Northumbrian versions Li, Ru^2 exhibit unassimilated forms *wifmon, wifmenn* (in R^1 only *wif* is found). If we turn to ME, the *f*-form begins to be more rare. In EMidl.-texts it does not seem to occur at all: Peterb. Chron. (later part) *wimmann, wimmenn* (Meyer p. 36), Gen. & Exod., Floris & Blaun. *wimmann*, Havelok:

[1] Zenke p. 5—6 assumes that transition to the weak class has taken place in *bilefenn — bilefedd* 'to remain'. They are rather to be looked upon as regular forms from OE *belæfan*.

wuman, Desputisoun *wymman*, Handl. Synne *wommann, wymmenn*. The same is the case in the North: Curs. Mund. (Cott. Vesp. A III) *wommen*, Hampole *women*, Engl. Metr. Homilies *womman, wimmen* (Wetzlar p. 78). In the South, on the contrary, it seems to have been kept longer. Layamon (the early MS) has *wifman* by the side of *wimman (wiman)* (Lucht, p. 64), Vices & Virt. *wifmanne* (Philippsen p. 6), Ayenbite *wyfmen* (mostly). In Rob. Glouc. and Shoreham I have found only assimilated forms (as to the former see Pabst, p. 258). In Lambeth. Hom. *wimmenn* ~ *wifmenn* (Stadlmann p. 92).

This small collection of forms indicates that before 1200 *wimmann* had superseded the old unassimilated form and that after 1300 the latter is retained only in the South-East (Kent). Consequently the form *wifmann* in the O. either belongs to another dialect or is due to traditional spelling.

Insertion of final n.

A final *n* is mostly, although not quite consistently, inserted in the words *a* (indef. art. or numeral), *na, mi, þi,* in some cases also in *o* (prep.), by B. This *n* is placed above the l., occasionally at the end of it if there was space, or in the margin. In the last case it is often very hard to discover, because it is written far away from the word it belongs to. That is obviously the reason why it has so often been overlooked by the edit. W. and H. and consequently not printed. In the latter's edit. the following instances have been noticed: *a:* 16131, 16354, *na:* 1625, 5262, 12797, 16150, 16536, 16658, 17158, 18679, 18756, 18955, 18961, 18981, 19191; *mi:* 16094, 16120, 16232, 16238, 16240, 16332, 16580 (two instances), 17167, 17174, 17177, 17740, 18454, 18458, 18464, 18468; *þi:* 1268, 1607, 1614, 7378, 14968, 15058, 17702; *ti:* 1607, 8944, 18818; *O:* 18406.

It should be mentioned that the superposition of a final *n* is by itself no certain criterion that it is inserted in second h. because all through the MS consonants are often written above the l., most of which are probably corrections in h. A (see pp. 89 foll.). Often, however, the *n* inserted by B, differs slightly in form — that is distinctly seen in Napier's facsim. in four instances 7815, 7817, 7821, 7843 — and in

the colour of the ink. Still, there are several cases in which I have not been able to decide exactly whether a final *n* is inserted p. m. or s. m. In the following list such cases have been denoted as doubtful.[1] Besides the examples in which the inserted *n* has not been printed in H.'s edit. the following have been found:

a^{n}: 3321, 3847, 7843, 8382, 8629, 8634, 8662, 12052, 14004, 14688, 14786, 15516, 15562, 16178, 16181, 17408, 17419.

Doubtful cases: 6966, 11086, 11378, 14661, 16116.

na^{n}: 3225, 6106, 11553, 12085, 13607, 13643, 15626, 15930, 17264, 18977, 19461. Doubtful cases: 6181, 6307, 6446, 7367, 11807, 12212, 12880, 13716, 17093, 17148, 19912.

mi^{n}: 8646, 10682, 12019, 13059, 14363, 14379. Doubtful cases: 6391, 11817, 14021, 14367, 14371.

þi^{n}: D. 12, 5252, 6118, 6120, 6138, 6140, 6150, 6154, 6186, 6274, 6748, 7815, 7817, 7821, 11391, 11900, 12286, 13588, 14122 (two instances), 14484, 14500, 14620, 14665, 14702, 14720, 14740, 14832, 14833, 14838, 14868, 14926, 14927, 14932, 15017, 15022, 15023, 15028, 15408, 15409, 16203, 16207, 18283, 19642. Doubtful cases: 5452, 5554, 6115, 6158, 6170, 6196, 6259, 7400, 7948, 7979, 9076, 11393, 12226, 14478, 14479, 14602, 14703, 14714, 14715.

ti^{n}: 5307, 6102, 12008, 19851, 19853. Doubtful cases: 9076, 11917, 14685.

O^{nn}: *(upp)o me*^{nn} 10392, 10398, 11385, 17623, 18384, *godd* 11993, 13616, *symon* 12758, 13284. Uncertain cases are: *(upp)o me*^{nn} 5062, 17657, 17669, 17772, *3uw* 9269, *uppo*^{nn} (before caesura) 12826, 13820, *crist* 10678, 13785.

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[1] The only scholar who seems to have drawn attention to these *n*-insertions is Kölbing in his collation. But he has noticed comparatively few instances (cf. his notes on ll. D. 12, 1268, 1625, 5262 in his collat.). Nor do I venture to claim to have seen all the instances, although many of them can scarcely have been overlooked. — In Zupitza-Schipper, Alt. u. etc. p. 111 '*n*' in 'min' 15572 is indicated to be in another h. by having been put in brackets (textual notes). cf. also Hall's extract ll. 2, 92.

The following instances left uncorrected have been found: *a:* 1715, 2970, 3366, 3370, 3430, 3467, 4004, 4086, 6968, 8123, 18316; *na:* 8623; *mi:* 17721; *þi:* 1552, 13514, 18815; *ti:* 4436.

It is seen from these *n*-insertions that final *n* in *an, nan, min, þin* when standing attributively before a cons., except *h,* was dropped to a far greater extent than the printed text shows. But even if these secondary *n*-forms are not taken into consideration the loss of final *n* cannot be said to have taken place with any consistency or regularity. *n*- and *n*-less forms occur indiscriminately before the same cons. and in the same positions: *inn a cribbe le33d* 3366, *le33de himm inn an cribbe* 3665, *þu wass mi moderr* 14379, *tu wass min moderr* 14385, *þin witt, wiþþ all þin lusst* 5004, *ne þurrh þi witt, ne þurrh þi lusst* 5010. The loss is not always restricted to weak-stressed positions. Thus for instance *a* = ModE 'one' (numeral) is met with l. 6968 *a da33.* cf. *bitwenenn an þusennde shep* 7757.[1] In some parts of the MS the fuller forms appear exclusively. Thus Dedication

[1] Of the same numeral the curious spelling *ann* is found in connection with *sipe*: 549 (insert. A-t.), 1025, 1685, 1699, 15576. Lambertz (p. 19 Anm. 1) assumes that the long vowel has been shortened owing to weak stress. This explanation is unsatisfactory for two reasons. First, *an* in all other cases both as a numeral and an indef. art., in which latter position it actually is weakly stressed, has preserved its long vowel: *an allmahhti3 godd* 1536, *an had off twinne kinde* 1431, *off an kinn* 2069 (numeral), *an full hali3 mann* 8587 (nom.), *an karrte* (acc.) 8701, *inn an fetless* 8648 (indef. art.). Secondly, *ann,* as far as I am aware, does not occur with weak stress. In all instances it means 'once' as opposed to 'twice', a meaning which implies value-stress. It might therefore be supposed that the second *n* in these few examples is due to a later h. This does not appear, however, to be the case. It is true that in the last four instances the sec. *n* is written over the first but it has not the form characteristic of B., so I am of the opinion that the doubling of *n* is made p. m. In OE the corresponding expression was *æne (ane) siþe* (Sievers Gr. § 331, Wülfing, I § 163 a) or *onn ænne siþ.* Is O.'s *ann siþe* a compromise between these two OE equivalents, *ann* being taken from the latter *(ænne > anne > ann)* and *siþe* from the former? It is true that the OE acc. masc. *ænne* survives in the O. in a few expressions, even after the prep. *att (< æt)* and *off: ænne child* 3364, *sang* 3374, *cnif* 8117 (acc.), *att ænne time* 133, *off ænne mann* 9197, 9561, but then it always has the function of an indef. art.

(342 ll.), Preface (106 ll.) and Homilies ll. 1—1267, *þi* D. 12 excepted, with 38 *n*-forms, 1711—3224 26 *n*-forms, 4437—5009 also 26 *n*-forms. Most often *n* seems to have been dropped in *min* and *þin*, there being 60 *þi (ti)* and 21 *mi*. But there are at least as many *n*-forms. The 28 and 25 *a* and *na* respectively form a very small percentage of the extremely numerous forms with *n*.

Only in one case does loss of final *n* seem to have taken place regularly in A.'s dialect, viz. in the expression *a litell* (1715, 4086, 8634, 8662).

B. evidently aimed at introducing the full forms everywhere. The instances which are left uncorrected were no doubt overlooked by him.

As to the two forms *o, onn*, the former is as a rule used before all cons. except *h*, the latter before vowels and *h*. Of the comparatively few deviations given above 9 are due to h. B., the remaining 9 *n*-forms are doubtful as to their originator. It is seen from the list above that B. alters *o* to *onn* only before certain words: *me, godd, symon*. That it was not his intention to correct all *n*-less forms, is obvious from the fact that he himself used *o* before cons. elsewhere in his insertions: *uppo þrittene dazzess* 6965 (cf. p. 52 and edit. note on l. 6958), *o þe* 1042, *o latin* 1037, 1038, 1045; even before *m* in *o messedazz* 4180 (see chapt. on insert. leaves p. 72). The B.-corrections *o* > *onn* before *godd* and *symon* seem to be quite arbitrary. Before the former noun *o* is the rule in A.-text: *(upp)o godd* 4932, 6212, 7212, 7386, 7428, 7975, 10023, 17222, *o godess hallfe (sune)* 3093, 3346, 3853, 6127. The same is the case before *s: uppo sæ* 13296, *sinness* 15821. The fact that the prep. before *symon* stands in a metrically stressed syllable can scarcely have caused the insertion, as the *n*-less forms before a cons. are used even in this position: *o þe temmple* 11958, *uppo þe rof* 11959. *uppo þe . . sandess* 14805 etc.

If for paleographical reasons it is doubtful whether the two *n*-forms before *crist* are due to A or B, the general use of *o* before the same word elsewhere favours an assumption that *nn* is really inserted in another h.: *(upp)o crist(e)*

678, 1597, 3841, 8582, 9442, 10838, 10852, 13145, 16808, 16920, 16932. cf. also *i crist* 13530, *i crisstenndom* 8815.

Before the pronoun *me* B. prefers the full form, which is seen from his five *n*-insertions above. In A.'s dialect the *n*-less form is mostly found in this position, but not exclusively. Besides the five corrected examples there is only one other safe instance: *o me* 18460, which is left uncorrected. Before other words beginning with the same cons. *o* preponderates: *o mannkinn* D. 277, 12954, *o moderr hallf* 11581, 12718, but curiously enough an isolated *n*-form is met with, *upponn mann* 6888, which seems to be in h. A.

The prep. *i(nn)* offers an interesting parallel in this respect. Like *o(nn)*, the latter drops its *n* consistently before all consonants (for 3 see below) even before *m*: *i mēte* 4586, *i ma33þhad* 2286, *i manness kinde* 6229, *i muneclif* 6330, with the exception of the pronoun *me*, before which the full form is exclusively used: 1192, 5074, 5076, 5226. This being the case, it is not impossible that the four *n*-forms of *onn* before *me* which were designated as doubtful cases are due to the first h. This interchange of *onn* and *o*, *inn* and *i* before *m* is very surprising and I am unable to find any plausible reason for it.[1]

Among the instances of *o* which may be p. m. or s. m. there were two before the pronom. form *3uw*. Before this sound the *n*-less form always appears in A-text: *uppo 3uw* 9805, *3ure 3er* 11070 (insert. A.-text), *o 3unnkerr weorrc* 6242, *o 3onnd hallf* 10580, 10612. With the prep. *inn*, *i*, on the contrary, almost the opposite is the case: *inn 3ure . . . læfe*, 1719, *3ure claþess* 6117, *3unnkerr herrte* 13019, 13045, [*3unnge* 4255][2]. Only before *3errsalæm* does *i* predominate: *i 3errsalæmess* 8439, [8439, 9182, 9188][3], 15615, 16497; *inn 3errsalæm* 15864.[4] Here the dropping was apparently checked

[1] Occasionally the *n* of *an*, *þin*, *min* is dropped before *m* in A-t.: *a mann* 4004, 18316, *þi moderr* 1607, *mahht* 5252, *mi moderr* 14379. cf. also *uppo þe* 5100, *i þe* 4686, 5228.

[2] *Inn 3unnge; nn* later on ascertained to be in h. B.

[3] In these examples 3 in *3errsalæm* has been altered to *ǧ* (Napier, Notes p. 73). cf. p. 103.

[4] The form *inn* for an expected *i* P. 95—6 *Inn quaþþrigan ammina-dab, Inn currum salomonis* may be due to Latin influence.

by the similarity of the purely vocalic sound *i* to the voiced palatal fricative 3, which at O.'s day was no doubt greater than nowadays, the latter sound having a more vocalic character. This is especially likely to be the case in *3uw, 3ure* < OE *eow (iow), eower (iower),* where the change *eó* > *ió* > *3u* had probably not been completely carried out, although graphically denoted by the symbol 3. But even otherwise there cannot have been a very great difference at least between the long vowel *i* and 3, which is seen from double forms such as *3iff, iff, fuliwiss, fulizwiss (< full 3ewiss), modi3nesse, modinesse, unnshaþi3nesse, unnshaþi-* etc. (cf. Björkman, Anglia 37, p. 367, Lambertz § 219, Slettengren, pp. 55—6). Consequently it is only natural that there should be fluctuation in the dropping of final *n* before this sound, and therefore it is not impossible that the instances of *onn* before *3uw* are written p. m.[1]

Finally we have to discuss two doubtful instances of *n* before the caesura. The usage in the O. in this respect differs according to whether the caesura coincides with the sentence-pause or not. In the former case, i. e. in instances of the type *he wollde hemm brinngenn onn to 3eornenn* etc. 12498—9 *onn, inn* are exclusively used: 6850, 7717, 10360 *(onn),* 12640, 13228, 13448 etc. *(inn).* In the latter case, i. e. instances of enjambment — the type we are concerned with here — such as *3e shulenn sen . . . enngless . . . baþe upponn þe manness sune stizhenn* 12824—6 there seems to be vacillation. Apart from the doubtful cases (12826, 13820) I have found only two more, one *upponn* 13886 and the other *uppo* 18975. Of the prep. *i(nn)* there is only one example, viz. *i* l. 529 (insert. A.-t.).

The material is too scanty to afford any conclusions, but on this point one would expect the same usage as in ordinary prose, i. e. loss of final *n* before a cons. If A. used the *n*-form in this position, which is not indisputable, he must have done so for metrical reasons.[2]

[1] *nn* in *upponn 3uw* 6119 seems to be written p. m.

[2] The *n*-form before *latin* in *upponn latin boc* 10165 is no doubt due to a mistake on the part of B. Instead of *latin,* which is put in the margin in h. B (see edit. note on this l.), there was originally *hali3*

Summary of conclusions to be drawn from the preceding investigation: The prep. *i(nn)* and *o(nn)* when preceding a noun generally drop their final *n* before cons. except *h* (fluctuation before 3 and *m*) in both A.- and B.-t. In an attributive position before a noun beginning with other cons. than *h n* in *an* (art. + num.) and *nan* is occasionally lost, in *min* and *þin (tin)* more frequently, in A.'s dialect. B. prefers the fuller forms.

It might now be asked: what were the conditions in this respect in other ME dialects? This question is not easily answered and would require a special investigation on a broad basis. I will content myself with giving a brief survey of the forms *an, nan, min, þin, on, in* in the above-mentioned position in a few important ME texts:

East. Midl. Peterbor. Chron.: usually *an,* 1 *a,* interchange of *nan* and *na,* always *min, þin, in, on* (Meyer pp. 34, 79, Behm p. 60). Bestiary: usually *a,* occasionally *an,* interchange of *no* and *non, þi* and *þin, o* (mostly) by the side of *on, one,* always *in.* Gen. & Exod. interchange of *a* and *an, no* and *non,* usually *min, þin,* occasionally *mi, þi,* mostly *on,* rarely *o,* always *in.* Floris & Blauncheſl.: *a* (stressed *o*), *mi, þi, on(e) (n* dropped in *alive, aslepe),* always *in.* Havelok: *a, no, mi, on (upon), in.* Desputisoun: *a, no, þi, on* (except *olive*), *in* Handlyng Synne: *a, no, þy, on, in.* West Midl. Kath. group.: *a, na* (mostly), *an, nan* (occasionally), *mi, þi,* rarely *min, þin, o* and *on, i* and *in* (cf. Einenkel, E. E. T. S. 80 p. XLII, LI), Lamb. Hom.: *an, on, na, mi* and *min, þi* and *þin, on, in(e)* (Cohn pp. 29, 73, 77, Stadlmann pp. 129, 132). Trin. Hom. *a, no, mi, þi,* occasionally *min, þin, on, in* (cf. Morris E. E. T. S. 53, pp. XVII, XVIII), Proclam.: *on, in.* Southern texts: Wooing: *a, na, mi, þi* (the two latter even before *h*), *o, i,* occasionally *in.* God Ureisun: *a, no* (once *non*), *mi, þi (mine, þine), o* (once *a*), *ine* (3), *in* (1), *i* (1). Sawles Warde: *a, na, mi, þi, o, i* and *in.* Layamon: *a, an, na(n), mi(n), þi(n), a, o,* occas.

in h. A., before which *upponn* is the form expected. It is obvious that B, on substituting *latin* for *haliȝ,* omitted to correct *upponn.* cf. *uppo latin boc* 16826 over er. in h. B, for which *upponn haliȝ boc* was probably first written (see p. 41).

on, i and *in*. Rob. Glouc. *a* or *an, no,* occasionally *non, mi, þi* (usually), more rarely *min, þin, on* (but *aliue, oliue*), *in* (Pabst, Flexionsl. pp. 292, 297, 298). Northern texts: Curs. M.: usually *a, na, mi, þi,* mostly *o,* occasionally *on,* always *in*.

From this collection of forms I draw the following conclusions: In the case of *an, nan, min, þin* the dropping of final *n* seems to have begun in the middle of the 12th c. (Peterb. Chron., Lamb. Hom.). About 1300 the usage became fixed at the expense of *n*-forms in most texts (Handl. Synne, Desputisoun, Rob. Glouc., Curs. M.). A.'s dialect in the O. agrees on the whole on this point with the Bestiary and Gen. & Exod., although they are at least half a century later. B.'s usage of full forms everywhere has no parallel in ME texts whether contemporaneous or not. In Peterb. Chron., which is considered to be earlier than the O., the dropping has already set in, although it is restricted to sporadic instances of *a* and *na*. This strongly supports the assumption that B. wanted to bring about a regularity which was in accordance with the traditional spelling.

The prep. *on* and *in* seem to have undergone an opposite development. In the O., where the loss has been carried through most consistently, it must have begun rather early, say in the beginning of the 12th c., in the West Midl. and certain Southern texts somewhat later. Even in such a text as 'Wooing of our Lord', where the dropping tendency was very strong, as is seen from instances of *mi* and *þi* before *h*, there is fluctuation between *i* and *in*. In the contemporary Lamb. and Trin. Hom. the prep. have been left intact. In the course of the 13th c. the *n*-less forms become rarer. In the Bestiary and Gen. & Exod, for instance, there is an interchange of *o* and *on* but only *in*. And about 1300 *on* and *in* prevail: Havelok, Desputisoun, Handl. Synne, Rob. Glouc., partly perhaps through influence from Southern dialects. The Northern Curs. M. has still *o (on)* but only *in*. It is surprising to find, however, that except in the O. *i* is not found in any other E. Midl. or Northern texts[1], where

[1] In Rob. Mann. Chron. it still appears (Boerner, p. 301). cf. also *father-e-law, brother-e-law* in 15th c. Yorksh. deeds (Baumann, p. 91).

influence from the Scand. *i* would be expected. But the literary use of *i* seems to have existed for a very short time only and become extinct in the middle of the 13th c. for reasons yet unknown. For it should be noticed that *i* is still employed in the corresponding mod. dialects. (NED, Wright, Dialect Dict., Peacock p. 238).

b. Corrections bearing upon the vocabulary.

ȝiferr- > gre-diȝ-.

All through the MS we find the words *ȝiferr, ȝiferrnesse, -leȝȝc* erased in h. B and *grediȝ-* substituted. I have noted no less than 41 instances: 2967, 2975, 4522, 4560, 4648, 5713, 10152, 10177, 10184, 10186, 10202, 10210, 10213, 10216, 10234, 10238, 10240, 11780, 11798, 12074, 12076, 12225, 12231, 12265, 12277, 12291, 12297, 12305, 12332, 12239, 12355, 12379, 12497, 14129, 14139, 14241, 16017, 16028, 16031, 16059, 16839.[1] l. 10218 was first written 7 *ȝiferr affterr ahhte* but is erased for *to winnenn erþlic ahhte,* a l. which is often found also in A.-text, e. g. 14141, 14243, 16111. One single instance of *ȝiferrnesse* (9318) is left uncorrected[2], which no doubt has escaped the reviser's atten-

[1] cf. edit. notes on ll. 2967, 2975, 4522, 4648, 5713. In the last note he says: «*Grediȝnesse* is written in margin instead of *ȝiferrnesse* erased, B, as is the case also in many other places where the word occurs».

[2] Wyld, who examined part of the MS «to see how far the symbol *g* (the specific symbol invented by O.) was used for O. E. ȝ» (Otia Merseiana II pp. 132—3) incidentally indicates some instances of *ȝiferrnesse (gif-)* having been erased for *grediȝnesse.* His statements are as follows: «In columns 229 and 255 the word *giferrnesse* is blotted, and *grediȝness* — erroneously for *grediȝnesse* — is in both cases added in margin. The erased words are very difficult to read, but I convinced myself that the first letter was *g* in both cases. On the other hand, in col. 254 we have *ȝiferrnesse* erased twice. In col. 253 *giferrnesse* has been erased, nothing being added.» As I had not the distribution of the symbols ȝ and *g* in view when examining the MS I cannot express my opinion as to whether Wyld is correct in his observations or not, but it should be pointed out that in the former case his examples are all except one wrongly or incompletely quoted. In col. 229, which begins l. 9252 and ends l. 9317, there is no word *ȝiferrnesse (gif-)* at all. Nor can he have meant *ȝiferrnesse* in the next l. (9318) which has not been erased (thus both the edit.). In col. 255 no less than six *ȝiferrnesse (gif-)*

tion, as in a parallel passage 10201—2 *ȝiferrnesse* is corrected. The synonyms *grediȝ, -nesse, -leȝȝc* are employed also by A., although more seldom: 3994, 4697, 8014, 10217, 15789, 16831. Both the words are used in the sense of 'eager for gain or wealth': *to follȝhenn ȝiferrnesse þatt iss turnedd to þatt an* ‖ *to winnenn affterr ahhte* 16017—19. cf. also 4645, 5713; *forr whase itt iss þatt grediȝ iss* ‖ *7 ȝiferr affterr ahhte* 10217—19 (A.-version); *ȝittsunng 7 grediȝnesse* 4697. — There may have been several reasons why B. preferred *grediȝ* to *ȝiferr*. It is possible that the latter was less familiar to him than the former. To judge from the records in NED, *ȝiferr* was not used in the North. In OE it is found in Corp. gl., Aelfric and Blickl. Hom.[1], in ME mostly in West Midl. (Ancr. R., Rel. Songs ed. Percy Soc., Destr. of Troy) and in the South (Lamb., Layam), of Midl. texts in the Best. (Mätzner). But it may also have had another sense which B. thought objectionable, viz. that of 'lust, wantonness'. Finally the possibility should be mentioned that *ȝiferr* in B.'s language might have been an obsolescent word beginning to be superseded by *grediȝ*, although this must be looked upon as doubtful when we consider the conservative tendency of B.

opennlike > *all full openn*

Another word disapproved of by B. is *opennlike*, occurring in expressions such as *wiþþ opennlike spæche* or *þurrh opennlike bisne,* which have been altered to *wiþþ (þurrh) all full openn spæche.* Such corrections are found in ll. 376, 2208, 2822, 2838, 6545, 6573, 8410, 9606, 9796, 10355, 11674,

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have been erased and *grediȝnesse* substituted (10210, 10213, 10216, 10234, 10238, 10240) and in col. 254 three (10177, 10184, 10136). Which of these instances does he suppose to have been written *giferr-?* In col. 253 there is only one *ȝiferrnesse (gif-)*, but according to my notes *grediȝnesse* has been inserted (thus both the edit.). It may be added that the marginal insertions are easily overlooked because they are often placed in the margin far away from the text they belong to. In this connection two other erroneous references a few ll. below in the same paper (p. 133) may be pointed out: *ȝæfen,* col. 354 (Holt, I, 10, 182) for *ȝæfe;* see collat. on this l.; further *ȝaff*, col. 102 (Holt, I, 2473) for *ȝaff* col. 162, l. 6472.

[1] In the WS version of St. Luke 16, 14 (Corp. MS) 'qui erant auari' is rendered by *þa þe gifre wæron:* the corresponding passage in Li., however, runs *ða ðe weron gitsaras.*

12911, 15435. A quite analogous instance is the correction *þurrh witerrlike bisne* > *þurrh all full witerr* etc. 6835, likewise in h. B. In l. 2915 a third adj. in *-like* has been erased, *full rædelike bisne* having been replaced by *full god 7 halsumm bisne*. The following instances left uncorrected are found: *wiþþ opennlike spæche* 2804, 9514, 9586, 10380, 18782, *full opennlike bisne* (acc.) 2909, *þurrh opennlike bisne* 7792.

In spite of these inadvertencies, which no doubt are unintentional on the part of the reviser, it is obvious that B. disapproved of all these adj. for one reason or other. At first sight it might be suspected that the reviser considered them to be grammatically incorrect because they have the ending *-e*, in spite of their not being preceded by any defining word, that consequently this *-e* was added for metrical reasons, contrary to the ordinary use, just as was the case with *gode, gōde, mine* (see above p. 7 foll.). That, however, cannot be the explanation here, for in the case of dis- and polysyllabic adj., not only in oblique cases but also in nom., an *-e* is so often met with in this position that, whatever the reason may be, this cannot be due to the metre.[1] Sachse (p. 36) enumerates 10 instances of *-like* before a cons., where *-e* is inorganic. To his list may be added:

an erþlike mann 18322, *gastlike lif* (acc.) 17311, *witt* (acc.) 14298. When preceded by prep., *-like* is found even before a vowel: *off eorþlike ahhte* 5067, *forr off) nan eorþlike unnseollþe* 4753, 4839, *off illc eorþlike unnseollþe* 4853, *forr eorþlike* etc. 5655; and before a cons. the instances of *-like* are very numerous: *nuttill flæshlike lare* 14275, *forr heofenn-like mede* 404, *erþlike mede* 15923, *æþelike gillte* 10172, *i ȝehilzendlike kinde* 18709, *off hefenn̄like þing* 10606, *þurrh he o fenn̄like mahhte* 1844, *takenn* 3331, 7130, *wiþþ he o fenn̄-like lare* 17836, *wæde* 3677, *læchedom* 1855, 1863 etc.

It is impossible to assume that all these instances of *-e* are metrical forms, and besides, it would be absurd to think that B., who seems to be rather consistent in his corrections,

[1] cf. NED under *-ly*: «In the Ormulum *-lic* (rarely *-like*) is used before a vowel and at the end of a line, and *-liȝ* before a cons.; the inflected form *-like* (dissyllabic) seems often to be used for metrical reasons, where grammar would require the uninflected form.»

should have corrected so few examples. In my opinion the explanation is to be sought in the use and function of the suffix *-like (-liȝ)*[1] < OE *-lic* Prim. Germ. *-līka*, Goth. *-leiks*. If we start with *openn*lik*e* < OE *openlic* (ModE *openly*), the adj. which is most frequently corrected, it obviously has the meaning of 'plain', 'manifest' in the instances under discussion. In OE it had the same sense (NED, Schön, Bild. des Adj. p. 76), i. e. the suffix in this word has ceased to be felt as living, having no special sense, not to be compared with other similar formations (noun + *-lic*) such as OE *deadlic, eald-* etc., where *-lic* has a special function and is therefore felt to be a suffix. Two adj. ending in *-lic* in the O. are of this type: *unnseȝȝenndlic, -like, -liȝ, unnseȝhennlic* (*-lic* = able to), *efennlic* (see edit. gloss.). Two formations, however, seem to belong to the same kind as *openn*lik*e*, viz. *whilwendlic, -like* 'transitory', OE *hwilwendlic* < OE *hwilwende* 'temporary', and *æþelike* 10172 'facilis; unimportant, trifling'[2] < OE *eaðelic*. In the formations noun + *-lic*, on the contrary, the suffix is always felt to be living: *e(o)rþlic, -like, -liȝ, flæshlic, -like, -liȝ, gastlic, -like, he(o)fenn-like, -liȝ, mænelike, stafflike, -liȝ, weorelldlike, -liȝ, wunn-derrlike, -liȝ, þewwlike, -lic, -like, -liȝ*, here meaning 'having the appearance of, being appropriate to' (NED), 'pertaining to'. Now I believe that the reviser always conceived the suffix *-like* to have a special sense or function and disapproved of the derivatives *openn*lik*e* and *witerrlike* because he conceived them to mean 'having the appearance of *openn, witerr* which was of course not the sense intended by A. As to *rædelike* < OE *rædlic* it originally meant 'advisable', subsequently 'prudent, wise', in which latter sense it was evidently used by A. But by B. it was probably conceived to have only the former sense, and therefore it was replaced by *god* 7 *halsumm*.

keȝȝse > *kaserr*.

A. employs *keȝȝsere (keȝȝseress), keȝȝse-* and *kaserē, kaserr-*, B. has erased *keȝȝse-*, occurring in the compound *keȝȝseking*, and inserted *kaserr-* instead: 3270, 3272, 3294, 8241, 8259, 8271, 9165, 9308, 10196. (cf. edit. notes on ll. 3270, 8241,

[1] In the O. there is often an interchange of *-like, (-lic)* and *-liȝ* in the same adj. For *-liȝ* see Björkman, Loanw. p. 158 footnote.

[2] This sense has been proved to be the right one by Brate, p. 33.

9308 and Brate p. 47). l. 9169 *illke king* is substituted for *ke33seking* in the same h. (B.); in l. 3519 *ke33seress* appears unerased. In compounds *ke33se-* seems to be the ordinary form in A.'s dialect, found 11 times compared with 2 *kaserr-* 275, 9469. As a simplex, on the contrary, *kaserr (kasere)* is preferred 3537, 8301, 8329, 9164, 9172.

It is uncertain whether B. has omitted to correct *ke33seress* on purpose. We have already seen that he is not always consistent in his alterations. But on the other hand the reason why B. has erased *ke33se-* is probably not so much the diphthong *-e33-* (for the origin of this see Björkman, Loanw. p. 56), which was well-known to him from other words such as *be33sk, be33tenn, re33senn* etc., as the formation *ke33se-* from *ke33ser(e)* with loss of *r*. cf. O. Scand. *keisare-domr, keisarligr* etc. It might be supposed that this seemingly un-English form has been coined by the author, on the analogy of OE *cyne-* O.'s *kine-*(?).

nawihht > nohht.

l. 6949 was first written 7 *nawihkt ma33denn clene* but altered in h. B. into 7 *nohht ma33denn full clene* (edit. note onl. 6949).

This correction shows that B. considers the proper negation to be *nohht* and not *nawihht*. The latter word was no doubt archaic already in O.'s time, since it is found only three times (10351, 12967, 15550—1) and then only as a negation, never as an indef. pron. like *nohht*, whereas *nohht* appears on every other page. The same is no doubt the case with *awihht*, recorded only three times (6905, 12335, 16979), in the sense of 'anything', 'somewhat'. The synonym *ohht* is extremely usual both as a pronoun and adv. A. evidently had recourse to these dissyllables in extreme cases as a sort of substitute. It may be asked why, under such circumstances, B. has corrected only one out of seven instances. Either they may have escaped his attention or he may have found it difficult to correct these passages without violating the metre. l. 6949 for instance was much the worse for his correction from a metrical point of view.

With regard to the occurrence of *nawiht* and *noht* (as negations) in other ME texts, the latter seems to be more frequent than the former, *nawiht* being found by the side of *noht* only in Layam. (3 *noht*, 3 *nawiht*, 2 *na-, nowit*, Lucht

pp. 59, 68), Leg. Kath. and Curs. M. Other records have the syncopated form accord. to NED.

To the category of words erased also belong *mineteress* and *wharrfenn,* which appear only in erased A.-text. The ll. 15560—1, 15794—5 are in the margin for 7 *mineteress sætenn þær* ‖ *To wharrfenn þe33re sillferr* (see edit. notes). The same is the case with two other parallel passages, the former l. 15807, which is in the margin for three ll. erased: *þe mineteress sillferr* ‖ 7 *oferrwarrp unnrideli3* ‖ *þe mineteress bordess,* the latter comprising 5 marginal ll. for a corresponding number erased in the text: *þa mineteress þatt he draf* | *ut off hiss faderr temmple* | *þatt haffdenn alle setenn þær* | *To wharrfenn þe33re sillferr* ‖ *þe33 wærenn i þe temmple þær.* Finally there is an illeg. er. l. 15567 where *þe mineteress* has first been written, as can be deduced from a parallel passage. ll. 15562—67 are repeated exactly in ll. 15802—07, but whereas the last l. of the latter passage has been substituted for three ll. erased (see above), that is only partly the case with the corresponding l. of the former, in which *þe bordess* 7 *te* is written in s. h. but the last word *sillferr* has been kept. Immediately after this l., however, the ll. 7 *oferrwarrp þær i þe flor* ‖ *unnriddli3 þe33re bordess* are erased, which, if not exactly agreeing with the last two ll. of the passage erased l. 15807, are very like them both as to form and contents. Consequently there can scarcely be any doubt that l. 15567 originally ran *þe mineteress sillferr,* as did the first l. of the passage erased l. 15807. *mineteress.*

The edit. gives us no information as to the h. in which all these marg. insertions are made. In my opinion they are due to B. Apart from the handwriting, which I consider to be that of B., it will be remembered that the mode of erasing is that characteristic of B. Further it is obvious that, owing to the insert. 16008—12, two successive ll., 16012—3, have come to begin with the same words: *Forr þatt te33.* It is not very likely that the first h. [= the author] should have been guilty of such a thing.

The chief reason for these corrections and erasures seems to have been a wish on the part of the reviser to avoid the words *mineteress* and *wharrfenn.* Instead of the former, cir-

cumlocutions are used such as *menn att bordess* 15560, *menn wiþþ sillferr* 15794, the latter is replaced by *lenenn.* It may also be pointed out that A. has followed his source[1] more closely than B., who is more independent here in this respect. This is seen from the marg. addition 15800—1, which must be in the same h., 7 *þurrh þe prestess wære þe33* ‖ *Sette to lenenn sillferr* and from l. 16008 *þa menn þatt wiþþ þe prestess fe,* the source of which is not, as far as I know, the Bible. Such considerations may also have had something to do with his (B.'s) correction of the ll. in question. ll. 15567 and 15807, which have been erased without any substitution, were probably considered to be unnecessary repetitions.

The word *minetere* was used to render Lat. 'nummularius' from c. 950 (Li, Ru[1], Ru[2], WS yospels) down to about 1300 (NED). In Wicklif's Bible (1380), however, the French loan-word *chaungeris* is substituted for the vernacular word. As early as in Curs. M. *þe chaungeours* is found in the same sense (NED). By the side of this special scriptural sense, *minetere* also had the meaning of 'moneyer; one who stamps money'. This may have been the reason why the word soon became extinct in the first sense, and why it was disapproved of by B.

wharrfenn < OE *hwearfian* generally means 'to turn', 'to change' and is often met with in the O. in this sense: *þatt win þatt iss* ‖ *ût off þe waterr wharrfedd* 14498—9, *wharrfedd hiss hew* 19251, *hiss name . . shollde wharrfenn* 13289. But in the specified sense of 'to change money' I have not found it used elsewhere, either in OE or ME.

c. Stylistic corrections.

Some alterations made by B. seem to have a purely stylistic purpose. To this category belong in the first place the erasures of *annd.* Apparently under the influence of the

[1] St. John II 14—16: »Et inuenit in templo uendendes boues et oues et columbas, et nummularios sedentes . . . omnes eiecit de templo, oues quoque et boues: et nummulariorum effudit æs, et mensas subuertit».

Biblical style, the first scribe has made frequent use of the conjunction *annd* when beginning new sentences or even new homilies or sections. In such cases *annd* has been erased and replaced by other words. Sometimes there is a very slight change, e. g. *Annd se33de* > *þa se33de* (197), *Annd forr þatt* > *Forrþi þatt* (10257), *Annd i þa* > *Unnderr þa* (10648) etc., but sometimes whole ll. have been erased, e. g. 7631[1], 12566. Apart from the corrections already mentioned, the following have been found: 3388, 11319, 12720, 14000, 15538[2], 19585. Besides, the first word in l. 7571 *forrþrihht se time comm þærto* is over an er. of which only the letter *A* .. is legible. On comparing this l. with l. 11319, which was first written *Annd son se crist wass fullhtnedd tær* but altered by B. into *Forrþrihht se iesuss fullhtnedd wass*, one scarcely hesitates to assume that l. 7571 originally ran *Annd son se* etc.

Three of the above-mentioned alterations are declared by the edit. to be in h. B. (see edit. notes on ll. 197, 3388, 7631). The others have been left undecided. There can be no doubt, however, that these corrections, all of a similar kind and having the same object, are due to the same h., namely that of B.

Another stylistic alteration is *þurrh þatt* > *þærþurrh* appearing 7 times: 1548, 1566, 2908, 2924, 6544, 6678, 8041. In all the places mentioned, we find shortly before the corrected adv. expression *þurrh þatt* the conj. *þurrh þatt* or *þurrh þatt tatt*. Owing to these alterations a confusion of the two different functions of *þurrh þatt* is avoided. Two of these corrections have been ascribed to h. B. by the edit. (notes on ll. 2904, 2908), but all are undoubtedly due to the same h. *þurrh þatt* > *þærþurrh*.

In the passage 7 *crist iss nemmnedd swiþe rihht Hæ-lennde onn ennglissh spæche* 4272 3 the words *onn ennglissh* are written in the margin in h. B. (edit. note on this l.) for *o 3ure* erased. Consequently according to the first scribe English is the language of the people, i. e. *læwedd follc* (D. 55), for *o 3ure* > *onn ennglissh*

[1] This l. may also have been altered for other reasons; see p. 41 foll.

[2] The alteration of this l. has not been noted by the edit.

whom the homilies are written, whereas his own and that of his class is Latin: *onn ure latin spæche* 16435, 16439.

hemm > *ȝunnc.* A similar correction appears ll. 4490—98 but is apparently made for other reasons. The passage in question contains a commentary on one of the commandments: . . *tu nan oþerr manness wif* ‖ *Ne ȝeorne nohht to nehȝhenn* . . . ‖ *To filenn swa ȝunnc baþe.* It is seen that the pron. of the 2nd pers. sg. and dual are employed here. In the following ll., however, the author illogically changes the pers. into the 3rd plur.: *hemm* 4495, *here* 4497, *teȝȝ* 4498. This inadvertency on the part of A. has been removed by B., who inserts *ȝunnc, ȝunnkerr, ȝitt* respectively instead (edit. note on l. 4495).[1]

illke > *whillke.* In l. 8807 *wiþþ illke ȝifess* is altered to *wiþþ whillke* etc. (cf. edit. note on this l.). Without this correction the sentence-structure would be illogical and the meaning obscure. We expect a 'that'-clause dependent on *unnderrstanndenn* l. 8805, which is also presumed by 7 *tatt* 8809.

annd > *þatt.* The alteration 7 (= *annd*) > *þatt* l. 8449 (see edit. note) has a similar purpose. Here two 'that'-clauses are meant to be coordinated: *wisste* . . . *þatt he þær haffde mahhte* ‖ 7 *he wass hofenn* etc., 7 (= *annd*) standing for 7 *þatt.*

wærenn ba > *teȝȝ wærenn.* l. 117 was first written 7 *wærenn ba biforenn godd* but altered to 7 *teȝȝ wærenn biforenn*, etc. The reason of the alteration is seen from the context. At l. 117 a new sentence begins, and here a pronom. subject referring both to *zacarizc* 112 and *an duhhtiȝ wif* 113 is required. This has been overlooked by the author in consequence of his following the Latin original too closely. The erased l. is a literal translation of St. Luke I, 6 «Erant autem iusti ambo ante Deum», *erant* being rendered *wærenn* only. The edit. has not given any indication as to the h. in which this alteration is made. The similarity of this correction to the two preceding ones speaks in favour of B.[2]

takenn till > *takenn wiþþ.* ll. 8483—5 were first written . . . *toc wiþþ crist* | 7 *till þe rihhte laefe* | 7 *till þe rihhte crisstenndom*, the prep. *wiþþ* being

[1] The correction *ȝe wilenn* > *mann wile* D. 111 (edit. note) is probably p. m., as is assumed by the edit.

[2] A suggestion that the form *ba* might have been disapproved of by the reviser must be discarded, as this form often appears elsewhere: *teȝȝ wærenn ba* 373, 745, *teȝȝ ba* 7511, 12372, 13090.

used before the first subst. and *till* before the two latter, although coordinated with the first. B. has altered the two *till* into *wiþþ* (see edit. note). — The phrase *takenn wiþþ* is often used in the O. in the sense of 'to receive, to accept', e. g. 104, 1377, 1516, 1582—3, 13789, 13797 etc., perhaps adopted from O. Scand. 'taka við' (NED). The prep. *till,* here originally used in connection with *takenn,* may be due to contamination of *takenn wiþþ* and *takenn till* or *to* (refl.), the latter phrase meaning 'take to, pass over to'. cf. *off þa þatt tokenn hemm till crist* 16766; 7 *toc himm to þe deofell* 356.

inn hellepine > inntill hellepine.

l. 5029 *inn hellepine werrpenn* is altered into *dun inntill helle* etc. (cf. edit. note). Both expressions seem to be synonymous, so the object of the alteration is not quite clear. It is probable, however, that the prep. *inntill* is more appropriate in connection with *werrpenn* to express 'motion to', *inn* in the examples found expressing 'rest in a place': 7 *shulenn unnderrfon wiþþ himm orrmete pine inn helle* 13686—7, *To dræzhenn ... inn helle* 16104—5, *bitacneþþ ... þatt wa ‖ þatt iss inn hellepine* 3862—3, *fallenn inntill eche dæþ inn helle* 4292—3. The prep. *inntill* or *unntill,* on the contrary, seem to be usual with verbs of motion: *worrpenn beon (wass) ‖ Dun inntill hellepinc* 8417—8, 14938—9, *fallenn ... inntill hellepine* 11856—8, *fell ... inntill hellepine* 13676—7, *shulenn inntill helle* 1205, *fellenn dun unntill helle* 1398—9, *farenn (forenn) inntill helle* 8112, 8408.

ysayas > wītess.

In l. 3083 *þatt ysa[yas] spacc off* is erased for *þatt wītess haffdenn cwiddedd* in h. B. (see edit. note). Probably the latter expression was preferred in order to avoid repetition of the words *þatt ysayas,* the opening words of the next sentence l. 3084.

don forrȝifenn > don to forrȝifenn.

l. 4954 was first written *wurrþshipe shæwenn oþre menn* but altered to *To wurrpenn* (MS *wurrþþenn*) *cȝȝwhær alle menn.* The two expressions are on the whole synonymous but show a difference from the point of view of syntax, the inf. in the erased t. having no *to* whereas this word is added in the corrected l. The inf. depends on *doþ þe* 4956 in the sense of 'make' + obj. + inf. or 'cause' + obj. + to + inf. A similar correction appears in l. 4962, *þwerrt ūt forrȝifenn,*

grammatically connected with *doþ þe mann* 4960, being replaced by *All to forrȝifenn*. Here, too, the sense is not changed by the alteration. It therefore seems obvious that the reviser has altered the passages in question because he preferred the gerundial inf. to the simple one after *don* in the sense mentioned above. An investigation[1] of the usage in this respect in the O. shows that the simple inf. was only occasionally employed in the position mentioned. Of 90 instances found there are 75 of *to* + inf. after *don* in the active voice, 4 after the same verb in the passive. Consequently the corrections are made in accordance with the common usage in the O. Now the editor declares the former correction to be p. m. but the latter in h. B. (edit. notes on ll. 4954, 4962). Apart from the fact that it is not very likely that two alterations, made for the same reasons and separated from one another only by a few ll., should have been due to different scribes, the handwriting, which, as for as I am aware, is the same, points to B. as the corrector.

l. 3565 runs *þatt iesuss nohht ne wollde*. The word *nohht* is, however, put in for *crist* erased in h. B. (edit. note on l. 3565). Thus the original version of the l. would be

[1] Weyhel, who has dealt with this matter, says p. 26: »Der Inf. mit *to* ist am häufigsten». Only part of the material, however, is given by him, the figures for the simple and the gerundial inf. being 8 and 21 respectively. As from these a wrong idea may be formed as to the real proportion between the two groups, I will add here the instances not found in Weyhel. Of the simple inf.: 5250, 5736. Of the gerundial inf.: D. 340, 2951, 3658, 3659, 4178 (B.-t.), 4950, 4958, 5253, 6667, 6679, 6981, 6993, 7162, 7447, 7459 (the 5 last in insert. A.-t.), 7594, 8822, 9840, 9856, 10349, 10449, 10493, 11860, 11872, 11923, 12465, 12782, 12835, 12841, 12935, 12980, 13277, 13285, 13549, 13759, 13969, 14140, 14193, 14237, 14313, 14344, 14859, 15173, 15470, 15809, 16097, 16205, 16597, 16791, 17396, 17504, 17628, 17640, 18189, 18550, 18738, 19634, 19650. The example l. 13285 *patt dop uss unnderrstanndenn*, from which the same author draws the conclusion that *to* + inf. is not exclusively employed when the object is a dat. (p. 27), erroneously stands for ... *dop uss tunnderrstanndenn* (thus Holt) in W.'s edit., on which his work was chiefly based (Weyhel p. 2). The records 8148, 16084, which seem to be given as instances of *don* in the passive voice followed by an accus. with the inf. (ibid. p. 27, *e*) must be eliminated, as *to* + inf. here has another syntactical function, *to* standing for *forr to*. cf. Einenkel, Pauls Gr. I, p. 1076, Kellner, Syntax §§ 401–405.

þatt iesuss crist ne wollde. Provided that this reconstruction is correct, one would be inclined to assume that B. made this alteration in order to avoid the combination *iesuss crist*, always occurring in the form *iesu crist*, of which there are over 200 instances in the O. (Reichmann p. 33). In oblique cases it is inflected as if it were one word, gen. *iesu cristess*, acc. *iesu Crist* whereas *iesus(s)* when not followed by 'crist' has the gen. *iesusess* and the acc. *iesumm*[1] (for examples see Reichmann l. c.). The expression seems to have been adopted from French (cf. l. c.). It may now be objected, and rightly, that A., who always wrote *iesu crist* elsewhere, would scarcely have written *iesuss crist* here on purpose. Secondly, if *iesuss* is to be looked upon as a miswriting on the part of A., we should have expected B. to have corrected it to *iesu*. It would therefore seem that l. 3565 was first written *þatt iesu crist ne wollde* and that B. preferred the negatives *nohht ne* to *ne* alone, by which alteration we get treble negation, *nowwhar* l. 3566 belonging to the same clause.

The use of negation in the O., which, as far as I know, has not been dealt with elsewhere, is too extensive a subject to be treated at large in this connection. To understand what the alteration under discussion implies from a syntactical point of view, it may be enough to indicate the chief points regarding the usage with verbs.

To negative the verb the double negation *ne-nohht* (or vice versa) is mostly employed, occurring regularly in principal clauses. In certain subordinate clauses, however, the single *ne* is occasionally found: after the conditional *3iff* 16 *ne*, 31 *ne-nohht;* in final clauses the corresponding figures are 7: 16, in consecutive clauses 5: 14, after *þohh* 3: 6. In *that*-clauses we meet with *ne* after the reflexive *3emenn* and *lokenn* = 'take care' (6901, 7399, 11374, 11983; cf., however, 6144, 7864), after *badd* 8620, and *þohhte* 12442, after *forrbæd* 9834 (pleonastic). In B.-t. the material is rather scarce, but here double negation is always the case: 452, 9039, 9051, 10142.

[1] Reichmann l. c. and p. 84 erroneously gives the form *iesū* 2216 as being corrected by K. from *iesuss*. The form meant by K. is *iesū̄* = *iesumm*.

With regard to the present case, i. e. the usage in clauses containing words with a negative prefix such as *na(n), nani(3), næfre, nowwþerr, nowwhar,* these are as a rule strengthened by *ne* only (about 170 instances), less often by *ne—nohht,* viz. D. 269, 121, 1624—5, 3224—5, 4490—1, 4520—1, 4752—3, 4838—9, 5008—9, 5130—1, 5740—1, 6105—6, 7404, 7846—7, 7858—9, 7983, 10221—3, 11645—6, 11985—7, 12228—9, 12238—9, 12872—3, 13930—1, 16136—7, 18338, altogether 25 instances. Comparatively seldom *nan* without any strengthening negative occurs: 415, 431, 1178, 5262, 6962, 8622, 12232.[1]

From these statistics it is seen that the alteration in question implies a deviation from the most common usage in the O. and represents a less common case, when in addition to *ne* the stronger *nohht* is put in to make the negation still more impressive and emphatic. cf. Jespersen, On Negation p. 64 ff., Wülfing pp. 296—7. It may appear unlikely that a stylistic subtlety of this kind should have caused the reviser to alter the text. Therefore it is possible that, overlooking the negative adv. *nowwhar* 3566, he was struck by the extraordinary use of the single neg. *ne* in a *that*-clause governed by *sen,* of which, as a matter of fact, no instance is found in the O.

Group 2.

As has already been pointed out, I include under this group the corrections which bear upon the contents.

þe boc. Among the many set phrases and expressions which are so characteristic of A.'s style, those of which the words *þe boc* form part, are the most typical and usual. Still, only a few traces of them are found in the printed edit. of the O., because most of them have been erased in h. B. and other expressions substituted. But as they are only crossed out with the pen, they are all legible, and have often been noticed in the edit. notes, although he has not thought it

[1] In the type *ne—ne—nan,* e. g. 2565, 2567, 7168—9, the first *ne* has the sense of 'nor' and is consequently analogous to *nan næfre* etc. from a syntactical point of view.

«necessary to note each instance of their occurrence» (edit. note on ll. 6814, 6820; see also his notes on ll. 111, 6605). Most frequently they take some of the forms *swa summ þe boc uss kiþeþþ (læreþþ, telleþþ), alls uss seȝȝþ þe boc,* or only *seȝȝþ þe boc.* No less than 109 such passages have been erased and as a rule replaced by other similar phrases, such as *þatt witt tu wel to soþe, þatt witt tu full wel, witt tu wel* or *wiss to fulle soþ.* Occasionally other expressions have been chosen, e. g. 7 *ta comm alls uss seȝȝþ þe boc* ‖ *þatt godd hemm wollde shædenn* > 7 *ta comm time to þatt godd* ‖ *hemm wollde onn erþe shædenn* 5202—3, (7 *he wass i cwarrterrne þa*) ‖ *swa summ* etc. > *onnfasst te kingess bure* 8134, *Forr crist iss i þe boc þurrh stan* > *Forr iesu crist iss wiss þurrh stan* 15070, *(Off abraham) uss seȝȝþ þe boc* > *wrāt moysæs* 14656, *(þatt wass wel swiþe niþfull þed)* ‖ *swa summ* etc. > 7 *fulle off modiȝnesse* (18254—5).

In two instances *þe boc* has been corrected into *goddspell* (15076, 15542), l. 7631 to *þe goddspell* (cf. p. 35), once (18020) to *soþ lare.* Sometimes there has been a very slight alteration, *þe* having been erased for *soþ*: 295 (in sert. A.-t.), 1064, 1984, 3249, 3633, 4770, 15642, 15660, 15706, 16295, 19941. Notice also *þe boc uss biddeþþ* > *Forr boc* etc. 13064.

Another correction which is met with is *þe boc* > *latin boc:* 10698, 16296, 18086, to which category also belongs *o þe boc* > *o latin* 8213. l. 8047 *boc* (without defin. art.), and l. 4452 *þatt boc* are both altered to *latin boc.*

We may also include here the alteration *haliȝ boc* > *latin boc,* occurring four times: 1130, 1182, 6644, 10165. In l. 16826 the words *uppo latin* are over er.; probably an original *upponn haliȝ* has been erased by B.

Finally it may be added that *þe goddspell* in the common phrase *swa summ þe goddspell kiþeþþ* is erased twice (150, 234) and replaced in the former place by *Forr þatt he wollde himm frofrenn,* in the latter by the typical B.-correction *þatt witt tu wel to soþe.*

Before discussing the purpose of these alterations we must enter upon another question which is intimately connected with this, viz. what the author himself means by the designations *boc, þe boc, soþ boc, latin boc, haliȝ boc.* The

edit. does not seem to have formed any definite opinion on this matter, to judge from the following statement in footnote[95] p. LX: »In his quotations Ormin cites the Scriptures as the *goddspell-boc, soþ boc, þe boc,* and *þe latin boc*[1] and cites also other authorities as *þe boc, latin boc.*» Sarrazin touches upon the problem in the beginning of his work »Über die Quell.» etc., where he says (p. 1): »Orrm selbst beruft sich mehrmals auf ein lateinisches buch, dessen erklärung und auslegung er folge, nennt aber nie den namen eines autors». Although he makes no definite statement, it is understood from the results this scholar arrives at, that he takes *latin boc* to denote Bede or other authorities except the Bible. Finally Weinmann[2] in a treatise entitled »Über den Gebrauch des Artikels im O.» p. 17 assumes without argument that all the above-mentioned designations, with the exception of *haliȝ boc,* which is not mentioned, denote the Bible. The question becomes still more complicated because *latin boc* occurs only once in A.-t. and *soþ boc* is introduced by h. B. To begin with, we must therefore investigate whether the context can give us any clue.

In unerased A.-t. I have found 22 instances of *boc, boke* without any article. It is easy to see that most of them do not denote the Bible. In P. 27 we get *Forrþi þatt itt* (= *þe goddspell*) *iss sett o boc* meaning 'written in a book' or simply 'written down'. Similar instances are found ll. 13937, 19331. *o boc (boke)* has the same sense in combination with *writenn*: ... *forrþi þatt itt (þe goddspell) wass* ‖ .. *All wrohht* 7 *wrītenn uppo boc* (D. 159—161), *þatt ysayas haffde se33d* ‖ 7 *writenn uppo boke* (3084—5); *Forr writenn iss o boc, þatt he* .. (11361, 11909); *writenn stannt o boke* 11390, 19438.

[1] *þe latin boc* never appears, only *latin boc* without def. art.

[2] This scholar has not taken into consideration the material of the erased t., which would have been possible, at least to a certain extent, by means of the edit.'s notes. As it is, his collections of *boc* and *þe boc* etc. give an erroneous idea of the use of the def. art. with this word. But even apart from the er. t., the material is not complete. *haliȝ boc,* of which 11 inst. are found, is not given at all. Further the following records may be added: under β p. 17 (*boc* without art.) 11669, 13064 (B.-t.), 16611, 11909, 13937, 16823, 16829, 19331, 19438; under *goddspellboc* with def. art.: 7402, 9095.

Three of these instances, which appear in a paraphrase of the 20th Latin text, seem to be direct translations of the Latin 'scriptum est' Matth. IV, 6, 10. That the passages thus referred to are as a rule to be found in the Bible, has nothing to do with this matter. cf. also *Dus it is on boke set þat man cleped fisiologet;* (Bestiar. Mätzner) and the synonymous expression in the O. *o wrīte settenn* 3543, *settenn upp o writt* 3282. Further, the phrase *o boke lærredd* is met with 8932, 10268, 11966, 14235, 14277, 16823, 16829; it does not mean 'learned in the Bible' but 'learned in books generally', 'book-learned'. Cf. *ðog he ne be lered on no boken* (Gen. & Exod. Mätzner) and *bocilærede men* (Layam. NED). Consequently there are 16 instances of *o boc (boke)* which mean 'in a book' or 'in books', i. e. in which *boc* is used indefinitely. Therefore it would seem that the same would be true of the two remaining examples *Forr tale off seoffne stannt o boc* ‖ *Forr mikell þing to tacnenn* 5348—9, 5762—3, but that is not the case. It is quite obvious from the context that they mean 'for the number seven stands in the Bible to denote many things', seven referring to the seven prayers of the Pater Noster (5350—2) and the seven 'beatitudes'[1] Matth. V, 1—10, (5636—5757) cf. *o goddspellboc* 5634.

Boc se33þ etc. 11343, 11669, and 11373 are somewhat doubtful as to their meaning. The context shows that they all correspond to 'scriptum est' of the Vulgate (S. Matth. IV, 4, 7), so that we expect them to mean 'a book says' or 'it is written in a book'. But on the other side they refer to definite passages in the Old Test. (Deut. VIII, 3, VI, 16). If these have been in the author's mind, *boc* would be interpreted as the Book = the Old Test. *boc se33þ* l. 15120 refers to the Old Testam.

In erased t. two instances of *boc* are found: the first in the following context: *Forr boc uss se33þ to fulle soþ* | *þatt tatt man iss forrwarrzedd* ‖ *þatt iss an hunndredd winnterr ald* ‖ *7 follzheþþ childess gæress* 8047—50. This strange statement has been identified by the edit. with Isaiah LXV.

[1] As a matter of fact these are eight in number, but the last has evidently been intentionally left out because the author was anxious to save the number 7 for his allegorical interpretations.

20, but it has been transcribed and connected with I Cor. XIII. 11 (edit. note on ll. 8047, 8051). Therefore the author has probably taken it from one of the many Latin commentaries on the Bible which were used in the Middle Ages. Still, it is possible that *boc* here stands for the Bible. So it seems to have been interpreted by the reviser B., who, recognizing the Latin commentary, altered *boc* inte *latin boc*. As for the other instance *Forr boc uss se33þ* (> *witt tu wel* B.) *þatt 3errsalæm* ‖ *Bitacneþþ gripess sihhþe* 6558—9 it is easily ascertained that the passage referred to by *boc* is not taken from the Bible but probably from Bede (see Sarrazin p. 10), but whether A., mistaking it for a passage from Holy Writ, means *boc* to denote 'the Book of books' or simply 'a book', it is impossible to decide. Anyhow, B. seems to have taken it to signify the former and made his correction accordingly. cf. p. 46.

Consequently the result of this investigation is that of 24 instances of *boc (boke)* without defin. article in erased and unerased t., 2 refer to the New Testam., 1 to the Old Testam., 4 may refer to the same source, 16 do not denote the Bible, 1 is doubtful.

With regard to *þe boc* most examples in unerased t. refer to the Old Test., viz. *swa summ þe boc hemm tahhte* 1329, 4155, 7578, 7688, 8894, 10413, *Forr swa to turrnenn all þe boc* 14240; also 14274, 14282, 14286. The Bible as a whole is apparently meant by *o þe boc* 1827 and *off all þe boc i godess hus* 5500. Of the numerous set phrases alluded to above only three have been left uncorrected: *onn hirdess ehhte, se33þ þe boc* 599 (insert. A.-t.), *swa summ þe boc uss kiþeþþ* 5001, 7 *forrþi se33þ þe boc full soþ* 17220. Of these the 1st refers to the Old Test. (see p. 67), the 2nd to Matth. XXII 37—39 (edit. note l. 4996). The 3rd bears upon a passage (17221—3) which does not seem to have been taken directly from the Bible but which is probably based on Acts XV, 9 «... fide purificans corda eorum».

The passages referred to by *þe boc* in erased t. are often hard to identify, first because all the sources of the O. are not yet known, in spite of Sarrazin's investigations, secondly because some expressions which originally seem to

go back to the Bible, appear in a transcribed and corrupt form, which indicates that they have passed through the hands of later commentators. Such cases must therefore be looked upon as doubtful. Of the instances in which *þe boc* has been erased without any corresponding substitution the following refer to the New Test.; 111, 749, 3728 Philip. II, 7—8, 7214 Matth. II, 3, 7671 S. Luke II, 37, 8155 Matth. II, 22, 8287 S. Luke III, 1 (partly), 11048 S. Luke III, 23, 13241 S. John I, 41, 17928 ib. III, 22, 19738 Acts II, 38 (partly). Notice also 15542, 15076, where B. has replaced *þe boc* by the clearer *goddspell.* To the Old Test. refer: 5202—3 2nd Kings II, 1, 5862 Levit. 9, 2—3, 6382 Gen. XXIX, 6809 ib. X, 1, 6988 Josh. XIX, 15, 8592 Gen. V, 22, 24, 1137 partly according to Levit. IV, VI, IX, 14656, 14661, Gen. XVII, 19, XXI, 4, 14684 partly according to Gen. XXII, 12.

Most instances, however, refer to passages which have been derived from other sources: 565, 737, 1200, 1275, 2002, 2049, 2246, 2519, 4147, 4128, 4147, 5896, 6605, 6699, 6725, 6779, 6814, 6820, 7044, 7082, 7321, 7679, 8134, 9550, 9678, 9759, 9789, 9872, 9955, 10585 (Sarrazin p. 14), 10601 (see collat. on this l.), 10752, 10794 (Sarrazin p. 14), 10900, 10961, 12672, 13621, 13629, 13762 (Sarrazin p. 17), 13794, 14179 (Sarrazin p. 17), 14476, 14594, 14628, 14712, 14830, 14924, 15020, 15070, 15134, 15207, 15848, 15901, 15945, 16134 (see edit. note) 16172, 16390 (Sarrazin p. 19), 16421, 16893, 16935, 18020, 18022, 18254, 19075.

Doubtful cases are 4051 (context lacking) 8516 (cf. Acts XIII), 8720 (cf. Malachi IV, 5) 9179 (cf. S. Luke III, 2), 12218 (context lacking), 13353 (cf. Acts IV, 11 and 15070—1), 17349 (cf. 1 Cor. XII).

Still the instances in A.-t., erased and unerased, by which Scripture or parts of it were denoted seem to prove that in the O. *þe boc* was the common designation for the Bible[1], which is not surprising as it was often used in the same sense also in other ME records, e. g. Pass. of our Lord *Hit is write in þe bok,* Glouc. *suerie vpe the bok,* Curs. M.

[1] *Scripture* and *Bible* do not seem to have come into use until about 1300; the first instances according to NED appear in Curs. Mundi: *als sais þe bibul, als sais scripture.*

als sais þe bock, Hamp. *als þe boke beres wytnesse;* even without any article: Trin. Hom. *We radeþ on boc* (NED, Mätzner). It would therefore appear that the examples of the type *alls uss seȝȝþ þe boc, swa summ þe boc uss kiþeþþ* in erased and unerased t. were also meant to denote the same thing, but that the author was often unable to distinguish between what really stood in the Bible and the additions and expositions of the commentaries he made use of. Another possibility is that O., simple as he was, meant by *þe boc* any authority he happened to have before him when writing his homilies, sometimes the Bible, or the Gospels at least, sometimes Bede or other commentators. That seems to be the only explanation of the following passage: 7 *ȝuw birrþ unnderrstanndenn wel | Swa summ þe boc uss kiþeþþ | þatt mikell flocc off oþre menn ‖ Comm forþ wiþþ þa þreo kingess ‖ Ūt off þe kalldewisshe land ‖ Till beþþleæmess chesstre. ‖ Acc goddspellboc ne spekeþþ nohht ‖ off all þatt oþerr genge* 6778—85. But whatever A. may have meant by *þe boc,* it seems pretty certain that it was conceived by B. to mean the Bible. For this scribe, who had to correct the MS from a theological point of view (see p. 59), was apparently anxious to remove such expressions as ascribed to Holy Writ things which he recognized to be due to other authorities, although now and then he may have gone too far in his zeal to find out errors of this kind. Some of the substituted expressions obviously support this assumption, e. g. *crist iss i þe boc þurrh stan ‖ O fele stokess tacnedd > iesu crist iss wiss þurrh stan ‖ O fele bokess* etc. (15070—1), *þe boc uss seȝȝþ þatt ȝerrsalæm ‖ Bitacneþþ griþess sihhþe > soþ lare seȝȝþ* etc. 18020—1. Note also erased t. at l. 565 (edit. note), where a statement is corrected which is in conflict with the Bible. See p. 67.

haliȝ boc latin boc

Further, we have the corrections *haliȝ boc > latin boc,* which in my opinion show that the reviser did not look upon these two designations as synonyms. The former must be identical with Holy Writ, as it occurs 4 times in unerased t. in a context which agrees with this theory: 645 (cf. Matth. XX, 23, 44, XXV, 33), 11689, 14407, 15340. By *latin boc,* on the contrary, the reviser seems to mean one or more of

the Latin commentaries on the Bible. In A.-t. it appears only once (Pref. 13), referring to an exposition on *amminadab* which is taken from Bede (see edit. note on ll. 25, 81, Sarrazin p. 2). This circumstance combined with the fact that O. has borrowed copiously from this commentator leads us to assume that the latter was in the author's mind when using the expression *latin boc*. Of the 11 instances in B.-t. (see p. 41), 3 refer to passages which go back to Bede: 10165 (Sarrazin p. 13), 16296 (ib. p. 19), 18086 (Bede III, 674), 2 partly to the Bible: 1130, 1182 (Acts VIII, 32, Isaiah LIII, 7), the remaining 6 to expressions which cannot be identified but do not seem to have been derived from the Bible.[1] The two passages whose original source is undoubtedly scriptural need not weigh much as an objection to our assumption as to the meaning of *latin boc,* as the somewhat different form and application indicate that they have passed through some commentators.[2]

If it is true that the majority of the instances of *þe boc,* *boc*
i. e. those which refer to other sources than the Bible, have been erased for the theological reasons mentioned above, this explanation cannot apply to the rather many cases (e. g. 111, 7215, 14661 and others) where a confusion of Holy Writ with other authorities is quite out of the question. Besides, corrections such as *uss se33þ þe boc > wrât moysæs* 14656, *se33þ þe boc > se33þ goddspell* show that here other factors, e. g. stylistic considerations, have decided the alterations. But this can only occasionally have been the case, because the expressions substituted vary but slightly, and for the most part are of the type *þatt witt tu wel (to soþe), wiss to fulle soþ (fulizwiss).* As we have seen above, many of B.'s corrections are of a purely formal character, and such considerations seem to have played a part also in some of the cases noticed here. The correction *þe boc uss biddeþþ > Forr boc* 13064 etc. cannot be explained in any other way and

[1] The passage 8214—16 is supposed by the edit. (note on l. 8213) to have reference to Revelat. XIV, 4, but, as is seen, it disagrees with this both as to form and application.

[2] cf. OE *ledenboca angit* (Aelfr. gr.), *awriten on lêden bôcum* (Aelfr. hom.) Bosw.—Tol.

implies that *boc* in the sense of the Bible — it refers to 1 Peter III, 11; see edit. note on l. 13064 — is preferred to *þe boc*.

soþ boc Probably the 11 instances of *þe boc* altered into *soþ boc* are to be accounted for in the same way. This designation, which does not occur in A.-t., I consider to be synonymous with *boc, haliȝ boc*. Seven of the examples have reference to passages the source of which is Holy Writ: 295, 1064, 3249 (partly acc. to Phil. I, 6) 4770, 4996 (see edit. note on this l.), 15706 (based on Matth. XII, 50, XXIII, 9, 16295 (partly acc. to S. John II, 21). The others go back to Bede: 1984 (Sarrazin p. 7), 3633 (probably the same source), 15660 (Sarrazin p. 18), 19941 (ib. p. 20), but these may be looked upon as inadvertencies on the part of the reviser, as it cannot be expected that even he was quite infallible in distinguishing between the statements of the Bible and other authorities. In this way it would also be possible to explain the instances of *þe boc* which cannot have been erased for theological reasons, probably having been disapproved of because of the form and therefore avoided. Some of the examples of *-sellf, -sellfenn* offer an exact parallel in this respect (see p. 1 foll.).

It might be objected that, with such an aim in view, B. would not have left any examples of *þe boc* unaltered. It must then be borne in mind, first, that these are a comparatively small number — 15 in all — secondly, that in 10 of them *þe boc* is used in a more limited individualizing sense, to denote the Old Test., not Holy Writ in general but the sacred writings of the Jewish people, *þe* having more or less the function of a poss. pron.; cf. *hiss boc* 1071 and *þe33re bokess lare* 8934 in the same sense. Further, *þe boc* 5500 is defined by the prepositional adjunct *i godess hus*. Of the remaining four instances two are found in inserted leaves and may easily have been overlooked.

If we suppose that in A.-t. *þe boc* as a rule means the Bible, it is seen that, compared with *boc*, this designation strongly preponderates. In combination with *haliȝ*, on the other hand, the art. is always omitted. As for *goddspellboc*, which in itself has a specializing meaning, there was also fluctuation but, to judge from the examples given by Weinmann (p. 17), without any special preference for either form.

The same is the case with *goddspell*[1] (Weinmann l. c.). Before 1200[2] *boc* in the meaning 'Scripture' is only found in a Latin glossary from the 11th c. as a rendering of *biblum* (Wright-Wülcker p. 360). In Trin. Hom. written about the same time as the O. we meet with one instance, without any art. (see p. 46 above). After 1200, when the records become more frequent, *þe boc* seems to be the rule. cf. p. 45 above and Steinhoff § 26. Note also the survival of the omission of the def. art. in Mod. E. 'Scripture', 'Holy Writ'.

Whether the two cases of *þe goddspell* (150, 234) erased are due to a desire on the part of the reviser to avoid the form with def. art. is questionable. It is true that *goddspell* is twice substituted for *þe boc* (see p. 41), but on the other hand all the other examples of *þe goddspell,* which are rather numerous (Weinmann p. 17), are left uncorrected. Theological considerations can hardly have played any part, as both passages refer to well-known facts in the New Testam.

laferrd > *þeww.*

A. often calls John the Baptist *ure (þe) laferrd,* B. who apparently thinks that this epithet ought to be reserved for Christ and God (cf. *þe (ure) laferrd crist* D. 186, D. 251, 10382 etc., *te laferrd godd* 727 etc.), has consistently erased it. Most frequently it is replaced by *cristess þeww* (cf. *godess þeoww iohan*[3] 9765): 9599, 9651, 9791, 9849, 9933, 10366, 10384, 10478; sometimes other epithets are used, viz. *cristess bidell* 9189, *cristess derrlinng*[4] 9219 (cf. edit. note.) and *iohan bapptisste* 10115; sometimes there is no corresponding substitute, the verse having been completed with something else. That is seen in ll. 707, 9161. In l. 9129 *þiss illke were sannt iohan* the word *were* is over an illeg. er. Here too *laferrd* was no doubt first written; cf. edit. notes on these ll. It is also to be noticed that 7 *tatt tatt cristess þeww iohan* 10442 is over er. in h. B.

[1] The instances with art. seem to prevail. Weinmann's material is not complete.

[2] Originally the plur. of *boc* was used as a designation for the Bible, which was no doubt a translation of *biblia sacra* < τὰ βιβλία. cf. *godcunde bec* (Gen.), *on Godes bocum* (El.), *þurh halige bec* (El.), Grein p. 63.

[3] Cf. *cristess þeoww* 11425, 11433, 11441 in A.-t.

[4] This word occurs only in B.-t.; the shortening before *rl* is to be noticed.

cherubyn 7 *seraphyn.*

ll. 1048–9 the following passage is erased: 7 *seraphyn* ‖ *off twezzenn enngleþeode* for 7 *haffdenn itt* ‖ *o twezzenn stokess metedd.* The same is the case with a corresponding expression l. 1056 7 *off þa twezzenn enngleþeod,* replaced by 7 *off þatt an, off cherubyn.* These alterations imply that the erroneous statement made by the first scribe, in connection with a description of the Tabernacle, that in the Ark there had been painted pictures both of Cherubim and Seraphim, has been corrected according to the account in the Bible: «Duos quoque Cherubim aureos, et productiles facies, ex utraque parte oraculi. Cherub unus sit in latere uno, et alter in altero». (Exod. XXV, 18–19). In a parallel passage later on, however, which is a summary of the exposition now mentioned, the same statement recurs, but is here left uncorrected: *haffdenn liccness metedd* ‖ *Off cherubyn* 7 *seraphyn* ‖ *Off twezzenn enngle þeode* 1695–7. This error on the part of the author seems to be due to a misunderstanding of his source, which in spite of Sarrazin's protestations to the contrary (Sarrazin p. 26), is probably Aelfric. One of the latter's homilies (Dom. IIII. Post Pentecost., Thorpe's edit. p. 342–4; see edit. note on l. 1050) agrees in several points with O.'s description: *Nu sind ða nigon heapas genemnede, angeli, archangeli* etc. . . . , *cherubin, seraphin*[1]*;* cf. O. 1050–1; ibid. farther on we find: *Seraphim sind gecwedene byrnende, oððe, onælende; . . . forþan ðe nane oðre englas ne sind bitweonan him and ðam Aelmihtigan Gode,* which chiefly is in accordance with O. 1052–4 7 *cherubyn* 7 *seraphyn* ‖ . . . *sinndenn drihhtin allre nest,* ‖ 7 *hezhesst upp inn heoffne.* Anyhow Bede, who according to Sarrazin l. c. is O.'s chief source, closely follows the Bible on the point in question: see Bede II, De Tabernac. 404.

Both the passages substituted for the er. are at the bottom of the col., the first «in an infirm h.» (edit. note on l. 1048); only the second is declared by the edit. to be in

[1] In the Bible these names of angels are only mentioned separately. The first time they occur together is in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, chapt. LXI, 10: «And He (the Lord) will call on all the host of the heavens . . . *and the host of God, the Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophanim*».

h. B. It goes without saying that they must both be in the same h., viz. that of B.

ll. 1442—3 *Drah harrd 7 hefiȝ þine inoh ‖ þurrh fife grimme wundess* are in margin for 4 ll. erased *All allse mikell þine drah ‖ Inn all hiss mennisscnesse ‖ All allse mikell allse þu ‖ þær naȝȝledd drezhenn sholldesst* (see edit. note). The edit. does not mention anything as to the originator of this marg. insert., but in my opinion the handwriting is that of B. Further it contains an allusion to the five Sacred Wounds of Christ, the only one in the whole MS. A desire to make an addition on this point seems to have caused the erasure. Stylistic considerations such as the repeating of *allse* three times may also have played a part. *fife grimme wundess.*

In l. 11459 the words *crisstnedd follc* are in the margin in h. B. for *cristess hird* erased (edit. note on l. 11459). The two expressions seem to be synonyms, but it is probable that there was a difference between them in a theological sense. The latter *cristess hird* is also called *crisstene follc* 13248—9, i. e. 'Christ's people', belonging to Christ and therefore not susceptible to the Devil's temptations; cf. the passage ll. 10394—7: . . . *off cristess hird, ‖ Off all þatt hallȝhe genge ‖ þatt rihht shall lefenn uppo crist ‖ 7 hise laȝhess haldenn.* The latter expression *crisstnedd* (= christened) *follc,* on the contrary, denotes people who may be sinful although christened. This term is consequently more appropriate in a context like this: *7 þærþurrh iss þatt crisstnedd follc ‖ Iss swiþe full off swillke ‖ þatt follȝhenn efft te laþe gast* 11459—61.[1] *cristess hird* > *crisstnedd follc.*

ll. 3475—7 *God þrazhe to þatt weȝȝe ‖ Forr rihht onn hiss þrittende daȝȝ ‖ þeȝȝ comenn till þatt chesstre* are in the margin for the foll. ll. erased: *Twellf dazhess o þatt weȝȝe ‖ Forr o þe twellfte daȝȝ itt wass ‖ þatt teȝȝ þatt chesstre funden.* It is seen that the scribes differ as to the day when the Magi came to Bethlehem. A. declares it to be *þe twellfte,* *twellfte* > *þrittende.*

[1] In *crisstene* l. 13249 a letter has been erased after the second *-e;* has *cristened(d)* = *crisstnedd* first been written and then rejected? Note also *cristnss* for *cristess* l. 1521 (cf. K. p. 3), which may have been altered from *crisstene.* These alterations, however, as well as *[cris]tess hird* l. 19036, which is over er., are probably p. m.

probably because the day of the Epiphany was generally so called already at his day (cf. ll. 11102—3 *Ażż o þe ȝer uppo þatt dażż | ðatt twellfte dażż iss nemmnedd*), according to a mode of reckoning which he describes in one of the inserted leaves (11060—11071). B., on the contrary, considers it more proper not to exclude the day of Christ's birth in the calculation, and therefore he corrects *þe twellfte* into *þrittende*. The passages *þe þrittende dażż* l. 6958, *uppo þrittene dażżess* 6965, *Binnenn þrittene (dażżess)* 6971, which are all over er., must be due to the same h.; cf. edit. notes on ll. 3475, 11060, and p. 82.

The word *þrażhe* does not appear elsewhere, the designations for 'time' being *tid* or *time* in A.-t.

It is to be noticed that B.'s spelling *þrittende* 3476, 6958 with only one *n*, which indicates a long *ē*, differs from A.'s (*þrittennde* 11062, 11066 insert. A.-t., cf. p. 82). cf. Eilers p. 61.

three faculties. At l. 11507 the following three ll. have been erased: *An sawless mahht iss shæd 7 skill ‖ An oþerr mahht iss minde ‖ þe þridde mahht iss lufe 7 lusst.* Instead three others are in the margin: *Forr sawle onnfoþ att drihhtin godd ‖ Innsihht 7 mindiȝnesse | 7 wille iss hire þridde mahht.* The context is as follows. After mentioning that the body of man is composed of four elements (11501—4); for the source see edit. note) the author states that the soul has three faculties *(mahhtess)*. With regard to the designation of these faculties the author and the reviser differ, as is seen above, *shæd 7 skill* having been replaced by *innsihht. lufe 7 lusst* by *wille. Mindiȝnesse* used for *minde* seems to be a ἅπ. λεγ. and may therefore have been coined by the reviser to suit the metre. In a parallel passage in A.-t. the same three faculties are termed *witt 7 wille 7 minde* 17572; cf. also 17577. The reviser was no doubt also anxious to point out that the soul receives *innsihht 7 mindiȝnesse* from God. Probably in h. B.

concluding phrases. ll. 251, 1812, 3490, 16752, 18002 we find marg. insertions in h. B. (cf. edit. notes on ll. 251, 1812, 3490), each comprising 4 ll. substituted for a corresponding number of erased ll. The difference in contents between the former

and the latter is that *þiss goddspell* in the erased t. has been replaced by *þise twa goddspelless* in the B.-t. To understand these alterations it is necessary to bear in mind how O.'s work is planned. The author first gives us the opening words of the Latin texts[1] from the Bible, on which the homilies are based. Then the homilies follow in the same order. Each homily consist of the so-called paraphrase, i. e. a transcription of the biblical t., and the homily itself or the exposition. After each paraphrase there are as a rule a few ll. to indicate the end of the text and the beginning of the exposition. These ll., which vary slightly in the former part of the manuscript, gradually assume a set form: *Her endeþþ nu þiss goddspell þuss* ‖ *7 uss birrþ itt þurrhsekenn* | *to lokenn whatt itt læreþþ uss* | *Off ure sawle nede,* as it is found in unerased A.-t. ll. 10684, 11399, 12618, 12828, 14078, 15632.[2] Sometimes, however, two of the Latin texts were paraphrased successively but still referred to as only one in the concluding phrase just mentioned. The paraphrase of the 1st Latin t., for instance, ends l. 196 but is immediately followed by that of the 2nd: »Dixit Zacharyas ad Angelum» etc. This inadvertency on the part of A. has been removed by B. in his insertions by means of the correction *þiss goddspell* > *þise twa goddspelless.* A. has also been guilty of another inconsistency, sometimes failing to finish the paraphrase in the above-mentioned way. In such cases the phrases have been inserted in the margin by B.: 240, 7697, 8391, 8979, 9331 (see edit. notes on these ll.).

The alteration l. 6514 *Nu wile icc shæwenn 3uw summ del* | *Whatt tiss goddspell 3uw læreþþ* erased for *Her endeþþ nu* etc. (see edit. note) implies that the concluding phrase has been corrected so as to get the form given above.

Expressions parallel to these now dealt with are found in the printed t. at the end of each exposition (homily). These are devotional phrases varying in length but usually

[1] These are not to be confused with the texts that immediately precede each homily, which are written by C., who, however, has not always been consistent in this respect; cf. p. 101.

[2] It will be remembered that many paraphrases are lacking and others imperfect. See edit. pp. LXXXII—LXXXVII.

beginning 7 *godd allmahhtiȝ ȝife (lefe) uss swa* or 7 *ure laferrd iesu crist* ‖ *Uss ȝife,* or 7 *drihhtin ȝife uss alle imæn.* In unerased A.-t. they appear ll. 7565, 8873, 9119, 10251, 10642, 11317 (imperfect), 13996, 15532, 16604, 17489, 17881, 19473. In the original A.-t., however, such phrases had been placed not only at the end of the homily but also elsewhere, viz.: 1595, 1667, 4535, 4991, 5343, 6289, 7994. These latter have therefore been erased. On the other hand they were originally lacking at the end of some homilies, viz. ll. 2727[1], 3260, 4008, 8343, where they are inserted by B. See edit.[2] notes on ll. 2727, 3260.

The marginal insertion ll. 4977—81 (see edit. note on l. 4977) has a similar purpose. In ll. 4535—4991 the author comments at large on eight cardinal virtues *(hæfedd mahhtess ehhte)* and an equal number of cardinal sins *(hæfedd sinness ehhte).*[3] Each commentary on the first seven virtues finishes

[1] For the place of this marg. insert. see p. 72.

[2] The edit. has omitted to indicate in his notes that ll. 4008—9 are in the margin in h. B.; ll. 8343—6 the edit. considers to be written p. m., which is not very likely, since the parallel-passages at ll. 2727, 3260 are in h. B. The marginal ll. 12562—5, on the contrary, are written p. m., which is seen from the *eo*-form *peowwtenn.* See chapt. on *e* and *eo.*

[3] The source of these expositions has not yet been found out (cf. Sarrazin p. 10). It may therefore be of some interest to mention that the 10th of the Lamb. Hom. (E. E. T. S. 34 p. 100) named »De octo uiciis & de duodecim abusiuis huius seculi» deals with the same theme. This homily, however, is a transliteration (ib. Pref. XI) of one of Aelfric's homilies bearing the same title (ib. p. 293). O.'s treatment of the subject is so like that of the mentioned homilies that the versions of Aelfric and O. either go back to a common source or the latter is taken directly from the former. In Aelfric (and Lamb. Hom.) the sins and virtues in question are first named in Latin and then explained in English. The former are gula, fornicatio, ira, tristitia, desidia, jactantia, superbia, corresponding to the following virtues: *temperantia, castitas, largitas, patientia, spiritualis lætitia, instantia boni operis, caritas, humilitas.* In the O. the sins are taken in the same order with the exception of the 5th and 6th, which have been transposed: 1. *gluterrnesse* 2. *galnesse* 3. *ȝittsunng* 7 *ȝiferrleȝȝc* 4. *grimmeleȝȝc* 7 *brappe* 5. *unnlusst* 7 *forrswundennleȝȝc* (desidia), 6. *erpliȝ kare* 7 *serrȝhe* (tristitia) 7. *rosing* 7 *idell ȝellp* 8. *modiȝnesse.* Of the virtues only three have names corresponding to the Latin subst., viz. 1. *mett* 7 *mæp,* 2. *clænnesse* 8. *meocnesse.* — After writing the above I found that the source of the passage now discussed has been dealt with by W. in a note in an incon-

with a statement, worded in a similar way and always beginning with *piss mahhte tredepp unnderrfōt*, that the virtue in question may overcome a corresponding sin. Thus ll. 4590—5, 4636—41, 4696–4701, 4718—23, 4744–49, 4850—55, 4900–07. After the exposition on the last virtue, however, (ending l. 4977) this phrase is lacking in the t. and therefore the marginal ll. mentioned above are added in order to make up for this. The reason why A. has omitted to add the mentioned phrase may be that in Aelfric's version (see footnote p. 54) it is not explicitly stated that the 7th and 8th virtues are able to overcome the corresponding sins, whereas that is the case with regard to the others.

After ll. 66 and 79 there are two erased passages, both to the effect that man was not strong enough to resist the Devil because God had created him of dust *(corpe)* (see edit. notes on these ll.). To an orthodox reviser such statements may have appeared inappropriate as they might imply blame of God. *Erased t.*

After l. 2084 a passage of 10 ll. is erased (see edit. note on l. 2084), which forms a somewhat free transcription of Matth. I, 25: «Et non cognoscebat (i. e. Joseph) eam donec peperit filium suum primogenitum». It is evident that this was deemed to be too delicate a subject to be commented upon in a sermon for the people. The er. is probably due to B. cf. chapt. II.

Group 3.

Here are included a few B.-corrections the object of which is uncertain.

At ll. 3314—5 the following words are in marg. in h. B.: *bape wærenn off ‖ dauipess kin 7 sibbe*, standing for a partly illeg. er., which the edit. interprets as follows: *wærenn off hiss kinn ‖ . . . becomenn*. With regard to the last word a pret. *kin*

spicuous place (W.'s edit. p. 638, H.'s edit. p. 582). Here it is shown that a catalogue of the chief sins is found in the Liber Penitentialis of Archbishop Theodore (668—690) and in several Latin and English ecclesiastical ordinances of a later date. The passage in Lamb. Hom., however, is not mentioned.

plur. *becomenn* from a supposed inf. *becumenn* is out of the question, as the OE prefix *be-* appears exclusively in the form *bi-* in the O. *-be* must therefore be the last syllable of a word preceding *comenn,* probably *sibbe* (cf. l. 3315). The following attempt at a reconstruction of the ll. in question in their original form may be made: *forr þatt te33 wærenn off hiss kinn* ‖ *7 off hiss sibbe comenn.* The words *off dauiþess kin 7 sibbe* is a literal translation of St. Luke II, 4 'de domo et familia Dauid'. The spelling *kin* for usual *kinn* is to be noticed.

l. 1652 *(forr witt 7 skill iss) i þe mann* erased for . . . *wel inoh* (see edit. note). Cf. the correction *bisne þurrh himmsellf > bisne god inoh* l. 852 and . . . *hefi3 pine inoh* in B.-t. l. 1442.

pasche. ll. 17887—8 are over er.; the handwriting is like that of B. Besides, the surprising spellings *pasche* 17887 and *lauerrd* 17888 makes us suspect that these two ll. are not due to A.

With regard to *pasche* it is to be noticed that everywhere else in English A.-t. the spelling *passke* is found: *passke* (1×), *-da33* (5×), *-messe* (3×), *-messeda33* (3×), in all 12 instances (Reichmann p. 46). In B.-t. the word is not recorded. In Latin A.-t. it is as a rule spelled *pascha* (4×), gen. *pasche* (2×), the adj. *paschali* (1×, Reichmann p. 57), only once *paska* (Lat. t. XXIV) and *pasca* (Lat. t. LXXXXVII). In Lat. C.-t.[1] the word occurs once (at l. 15538) in the spelling *pasca.*

Reichmann does not see anything extraordinary in these different spellings, since, he says, the symbols *c, k* and *ch* are used promiscuously to denote the *k*-sound, which he considers to be proved by the fact that even in the same name *k (c)* is sometimes found by the side of *ch* (p. 81). As instances of such an interchange before a vowel he gives, except *Passke ~ Pasche,* only *Chana ~ Cana, Zakariass, -cariass ~ Zacharias.* If we distinguish between the forms occurring in the Engl. t. and those in the Latin t., which Reichmann has failed to do, we shall find, however, that in

[1] In Reichmann's collection of names, which otherwise is very carefully made, the names occurring in Lat. C.-t. are not given.

the former t. there is no interchange of the kind mentioned, *cana* always being written with *c* (16×), *zakarias, -cariass, zacarize, -karize* always with *c* or *k* (23×); Reichm. pp. 65—6, 68). In Lat. A.-t., on the contrary, we find only *zacharias* (1×), but *chana* (1×) by the side of *cananea* (Lat. t. CVII), in Lat. C.-t. *zacharias* (at l. 109), and *chana* (at l. 14000). Of the names in which only the spelling *ch* is met with *arrchelaw, -lauss, cherubyn, ezechiel, -yel, iechonias(s), macherónnte, mellchisedæc, michaæl* and *rachæl* occur in Engl. A.-t., *antiochya, -iam, ierycho,* and *zacheus* in Lat. A.-t. In Lat. C.-t. the form *nichodemus* is found (at l. 16608), whereas in Engl. as well as in Lat. A.-t. the same name is always written with *c* (Reichmann pp. 21, 57).

Consequently O. has by no means been guilty of the inconsistency Reichmann seems to impute to him. It is only natural that in copying the Bible he followed his original and wrote *ch* in the above-mentioned names, in which[1] *ch* represents the Greek letter χ or κχ. But in the Engl. t. O. as a rule used a phonetic spelling even in most names. We are therefore not justified in drawing any conclusions regarding the phonetic value of *ch* in names in the Engl. t. from the occurrence of *ch* in the Lat. t.[2] The only spelling which may support Reichmann's supposition is *pasche*, a noteworthy exception which is satisfactorily accounted for by the assumption that it is due to another h.

lauerrd.

The other spelling *lauerrd* is as irregular as the former one, it being a well-known fact that medially between vowels the voiced labio-dental fricative is denoted by *f* in vernacular words (Lambertz § 238). Only in a few scriptural names is it regularly represented by *u*, corresponding to the Lat. *u* and Greek υ, viz., in Engl. A.-t.: *dauiþ(þ), -ið* (22×, Reichmann p. 67), *eue (éue)* (10× ib. p. 19), in Lat. A.-t. *dauid* and *(montem) oliueti;* initially in the Latin loanwords *uienne* (probably taken from Bede; cf. Reichmann p. 46, footnote[3]) and *uipera* 'viper' 9760. There is only one Engl. word in

[1] Except in *chana*, which goes back to Greek Κανά. The reverse is the case in *cananea*, Greek Χαναναία. These are probably to be explained as inverted spellings.

[2] cf. also Lambertz § 322, Anm., § 323, Zachrisson, p. 35.

which *u* appears once for *f*, viz. *serruenn* 506 ~ *serrfenn* (8 ×; Zenke p. 29). In B.-t. too *f* is met with in vernacular words: *lifeþþ* 7775, *laffdiȝ* 9036, *hafenn* 9058. C. has *luuesst* (edit. note on l. 4978—81).

The spelling *serruenn* occurring in insert. A.-t. by the side of *serrfenn* (7×) must be an inadvertency due to the author himself but may be explained by its French derivation or through association with Lat. *servare*. But that the zealous phonetician O. should have written *u* in the genuine Engl. word *laferrd* which appears hundreds of times in the O., is very unlikely. cf. Reichmann p. 80, footnote[1].

But for the handwriting one might be inclined to ascribe those ll. to C., whose orthography is very irregular (see above and p. 102). Besides, this scribe does not seem to have made any corrections of this kind. As it is, we have to assume that they are due to B., who seems to have been more influenced by the learned spelling, although the material is too scanty to draw any definite conclusions.[1]

II. Identification of B.

It is known that the O. is introduced by a Dedication which is directed to the author's brother[2] *wallterr*, who like himself is an Augustinian canon. Here the author tells us that the work now concluded was started at the suggestion of this brother: *Icc hafe don swa summ þu badd' 7 forbedd te þin wille ‖ Icc hafe wennd inntill cnnglissh | Goddspelless hallȝhe láre* (D. 11—14). He also tells his brother that he has been obliged sometimes to make additions of his own: *Icc hafe sett her o þiss boc . . . ‖ All þurrh me sellfenn maniȝ word ‖ þe rime swa to fillenn* (D. 41—44), for which he apologizes a few ll. below: *7 icc ne mihhte nohht min ferrs | Azȝ wiþþ goddspelless wordess ‖ Wel fillenn all 7 all forrþi | Shollde*

[1] The context does not give us any clue, as the ll. in question occur in a passage the source of which is unknown. See edit. p. LXXXVI.

[2] See p. 59 footn.

icc well offte nede ‖ *Amang goddspelless wordess don* ‖ *Min word, min ferrs to fillenn* (D. 59—64). But this apparently makes him doubtful as to the doctrinal purity of these additions, for he then continues: 7 *te* (viz. *wallterr*) *bitæche icc off þiss boc* | *Heh wikenn alls itt semeþþ* | *All to þurrhsekenn illc an ferrs* ‖ 7 *to þurrhlokenn offte,* | *þatt upponn all þiss boc ne be* ‖ *Nan word ȝæn cristess lare* ‖ *Nan word tatt swiþe wel ne be to trowwenn* 7 *to follȝhenn* (D. 65—72). We have now seen that in the O. there actually are a series of corrections bearing upon the contents as well as the form, in a handwriting which differs but slightly from that of A. and which therefore is no doubt contemporary; we have also seen that this reviser has been anxious to remove statements which are or might be taken as being in conflict with the Bible or other authorities and that his linguistic corrections too are generally of a normalizing, simplifying, probably artificial, character, but that the dialect is probably the same. This being the case, there can be little doubt that B. is identical with O.'s brother *wallterr,* who is asked by the author himself to revise his work. This assumption also helps to explain why, with a few exceptions, B. has succeeded in imitating his complicated orthographical system, which, as we shall see later on, was not the case with the later scribe C. For it is to be expected that *wallterr*[1] was instructed by his brother on this point, on which the latter seems to have been particularly keen, to judge from the well-known passage in his Ded.: 7 *whase wilenn shall þiss boc* ‖ *Efft*

[1] It has been supposed by Henrici (Zeitschrift f. deutsches Altertum X, neue Folge, p. 232) that the words *broperr min* ‖ *Affterr þe flæshess kinde* are not to be taken literally but in a more or less figurative sense. His arguments, however, are not convincing. First, the passage from the Bible on which he bases his assumption, ἀδελφός ἐν σαρκί Philemon 16, seems to be uncertain as to its meaning. Secondly a similar expression in the New Test., viz. ὑπέρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν συγγενῶν μου κατὰ σάρκα 'pro fratribus meis qui sunt cognati mei secundum carnem' Rom. IX, 3, has the meaning of 'belonging to same country'. Therefore it seems to me more probable that the simple Orm, if he knew the above-mentioned scriptural expressions, interpreted them literally and employed them in the same sense. cf. also Bradley, Athen. 1906, I. p. 609, II. p. 73, Wilson, ibid. II. pp. 43, 104.

oþerr siþe writenn ‖ Himm bidde icc . . . ‖ . . . tatt he loke wel þatt he ‖ An bocstaff write twizzess, ‖ Ezzwhær þær itt uppo þiss boc ‖ iss wrītenn o þatt wise (D. 97—106).

The only writer who has drawn attention to the fact that O. requested his brother to examine his work, is Ellis (Pron. Part II. p. 488) in connection with a discussion of the spelling *eo,* for which see below.

III. The spelling *eo.*

It is a well-known fact that certain words — chiefly those which in OE had *eo* — in the former part of the O. MS appear with the spelling *eo* by the side of *e,* but that in the latter part of the MS, or to be more exact, after l. 13853, not a single *eo*-form is found. They are also lacking in Dedication (342 ll.) and Preface (106 ll.), the first *eo* occurring in l. 2 *(eorþe)* and in some of the inserted leaves. Further it has been observed by several writers that *o* has been erased and then reinserted in later h. Hale, who made a casual examination of the MS, makes the following statement (Mod. Lang. Not. VIII col. 38): «For in all the cases I have observed of the spelling *eo,* an original letter after the *e* (presumably *o*) has been erased and subsequently an *o* inserted in somewhat different ink.» Napier, who apparently examined large portions of the MS with regard to the occurrence of the symbol for *ȝ,* expresses himself as follows on the point in question (E. E. T. S. 103 p. 74): «It will also be noticed that the *o* in the combination *eo* has generally been erased, and that in most cases the *o* has been again added by another hand». Bülbring (Die Schreibung *eo* im O., p. 55) goes through all the *eo*-forms occurring in the facsimiles by Napier, Skeat, and White and arrives at a similar result. Long before, however, the same observations had been made by the first edit. — which was only to be expected — who also in a rather important note (1st ed. p. LXXVI note 103, 2nd ed. p. LXIV), subsequently noticed by Ellis (Pron. Part II, p. 488), draws attention to this fact:

«A remarkable instance of the preference of *e* for *eo* will be found by the omission, nearly uniform, of *o* in the latter part of the MS, in the inserted leaves, and in the Ded. and Pref., as in the forms *lede, þede, werelld,* etc., the *o* having been written in the above words and in others in the first part of the MS, afterwards erased and then rewritten. In these last-named instances the *o* has been retained in printing, in order to preserve the orthography.» The information given in the last sentence is not correct, for as a matter of fact, with a few exceptions, *o* has been printed even in the numerous cases where it was not rewritten, because traces of *o* were left. See White's Facsim. No. 2 and Bülbring l. c., p. 55. Only in four such instances is *e* printed. In two of these, *dreriȝ* 4788, *wel* 19690 (for this cf. edit. gloss. p. 547) traces of an *o* are distinctly seen, in the others, *mec* 9931, *wel* (subst.) 15400, we can only suppose it to have first been written. Otherwise my examination of the MS only corroborates the previous observations on this point: *o* is mostly, although not quite consistently, erased, less frequently it has been reinserted, but then always in later h.[1]

In ll. 1—5700 there are over 150 certain instances of *o* having been erased but not put in again. Of *o* rewritten I have noted about a hundred instances, the first being *eorþe* l. 2 and the last *beodenn* 11627, but there may be more.[2] One of the inserted leaves forms a noteworthy exception as to the mode in which *o* has been erased, as on the 2nd page (ll. 335—364) it has not been scratched out but run through with the pen (17 instances).

Hale (l. c. col. 42—3) tries to account for this confusion in the use of *e* and *eo* in the following way: Orm began to write *eo* but decided on *e* about l. 13000. Being a zealous phonetician he then corrected the instances of *eo* before l. 13000 according to his altered practice. Ded. and Pref. as well as certain inserted leaves where *eo* is not met with, may have been written later. Subsequently another scribe, ac-

[1] The short time I had at my disposal did not allow me to investigate all examples, there being, roughly speaking, about 1000 *eo*-forms in the O.

[2] cf. Hall's extract in which no *o* has been reinserted (II, p. 481).

customed to the spelling *eo*, has looked through the work and restored *o* in every case, but did not trouble to add an *o* after the *e* in the later part.

Bülbring seems to agree with Hale on this point (Die Schreib. *eo* pp. 78—79). Ellis (l. c. p. 488) who, as far as I know, is the only writer that assumes the existence of a second scribe, a reviser, suggests that the deletions of *o* are due to the latter, «Orrmin having, on further reflection, restored his own orthography».

After this brief account of the present state of the question it may now be asked: Did B. write *e* or *eo*? The question is easily answered. In all corrections and additions which for several reasons have been ascribed above to B., *e* is exclusively used in words where in A.-t. there is an interchange of *e* and *eo:* 2727—30 *flen, ben,* 3260—3 *erþe, ben, heffness, heffne* 3545, 900, 4009 *heffness, herrte* 4981, *erþe* 5203, *strenedd* 6809, *þewww* (9 inst. see p. 49), *ben* 8345, *erþlic* 10218, *defell* 12567; after l. 13853 *lede* 15775, *prestess* 15801, 16008. I therefore look upon it as established that B. never used the spelling *eo* and that the occurrence of this symbol in doubtful insertions is a proof that B. is not the author. Under such circumstances the simplest way of accounting for the mysterious use of *eo* and the deletions of it would be to assume that A. has written only ll. 1—13853 but that the rest of the work, including Ded., Preface and those of the inserted leaves where no *eo*-forms appear, is due to B., who disapproved of the spelling *eo* and therefore erased it in the former part of the MS. This tempting suggestion must, however, be discarded at once. First, the same h. is found even after l. 13853 and secondly there are, with the exception of some of the inserted leaves, certain corrections in h. B. all through the MS, the first being *þi* > *þin* D. 12 and the last *þe boc* > *soþ boc* 19941, which is evidence enough that the first scribe (= the author), after employing *eo* by the side of *e*, rejected the former altogether. It is unquestionable that the Ded. and Pref., which introduce the work, have been written afterwards. In the former the author expressly declares that his work is ended (D. 10—28), and the latter begins in the following way: *þiss boc iss*

nemmnedd orrmulum ‖ *Forrþí þatt orrm itt wrohhte* (note the past tense); cf. also P. 51, where he says *alls icc hafe shæwedd ȝuw* ‖ *O fowwre goddspellbokess.* It goes without saying that the last l. refers to the following paraphrases of the Gospels. As to the insert. leaves it is mostly seen from the context that those occurring before l. 13853, in which no *eo* forms are found but which still seem to be written in h. A., have been added later. Consequently we have to reckon with three possibilities with regard to the deletions of *o* in the combination *eo:* they may be due to A., to B., or to both of them.

We remember that *o* was as a rule scratched out, but that a few instances were erased by the pen. These erasures were probably made later than the others because they appear only in one of the inserted leaves, which no doubt had been overlooked at the first revision. These circumstances, combined with the fact that B. as a rule makes his alterations with the pen, indicate that they are due to him. But if this supposition is correct, the other deletions of *o* must have been made by A. That the author looked through his work very carefully before handing it over to B. for revision is indisputable. The inserted leaves and the numerous cases of superposition of final consonants are evidence enough. Besides, it is only natural that the methodical O., who at last decided on *e* for *eo,* wished to bring about consistency on this point and therefore undertook the laborious task of erasing *o*.

As regards the restitutions of the same letter it is impossible to assume, with Ellis, that the author himself restored it. O. was certainly not guilty of such inconsistency. Besides, the different ink indicates a later scribe. As we shall see later on, there are also other corrections of a similar kind.

Finally we have to discuss a few instances in which the combination *eo* has not been erased but altered into other letters. These are: *Mapeow* > *Mappew* 11736, 11764, 11767, 11784 (collat. at these ll.), *þeowess* > *þewwess* 8192 (edit. note) *galileo* > *galilew* 8473 (edit. note). The same correction is probably aimed at in the somewhat corrupted word

þeowwess 5599, which W. and H. interpret *þeowwess*, K. *þeþþwess* (cf. collat.).

A comparison with the other records of the first word shows that in non-inserted A.-t. there are only *eo*-forms: *Maþeow* 5635, 10649, 11227, *Maþþeow* 11200, 11290, in insert. A.-t. *e*-forms: *Maþew* 6978, *Maþþew* 5776, 5815, 7070, 7142; see Reichmann, p. 30, Effer, p. 195. It is seen that A. hesitated between the single and double *þ*. Reichmann (p. 89) supposes that this vacillation is due to O.'s uncertainty in rendering the quantity of the vowel or consonant sound, as the name has been adopted from French. This explanation, however, is not convincing, since, in vernacular words, irrespective of the quantity of the vowel, O. as a rule uses a double cons. medially in an open syllable only when in OE the doubling was the rule. Exceptions such as *wraþþenn* (OE *wraþian*), *wiþþutenn, wiþþinnenn* (see glossary) are easily explained through association with *wraþþe* and *wiþþ* (Björkman, O.'s Doppelkons. pp. 361 footnote[2], 369). It is more probable that the Latin and Greek spellings *Mattheus*, Ματθαιος (cf. OE *Matthew;* Reichmann l. c.) have caused the gemination; cf. *arriuss* 7455, in which *r* was actually geminated in Latin and OE (Reichmann p. 63, Schulze p. 423).

The alteration *þeowess* > *þewwess* is more intelligible, as it is obvious from the records that the latter (with double *w*) was looked upon as being the proper form, there being only two instances with *w* (3656, 5511) against 5 with *ww* (Effer l. c. p. 188).

As to the last word there are no less than three forms in the O.: *galile* 29 ×, *galileo*[1] 9 ×, *galile(o)(wess)* 5 ×, i. e. the form which the correction has resulted in, is the least frequent (Reichmann pp. 32, 39).

It is difficult to say if these alterations have been made by A. or B. If they are due to the latter, we should expect,

[1] That the *eo*-forms are in the minority is due to the fact that most records are found in the later part of the MS. — For the form *galileo* cf. Bülbring, Bonn. Beitr. XVII, p. 66, Angl. Beibl. 17, p. 135, Reichmann p. 78.

according to the theory propounded above, that *o* had been already erased. I am not in a position to say whether that is the case, but I have specially noted that in *Maþeow* 10649, 11227 *o* has been erased and then reinserted and that in *galileo* 8847, 8881 and *þeow(w)ess* 3644, 3656 the same vowel is nearly erased but not rewritten. But if O. himself made these erasures, which is very likely, but did not at the same time double the respective cons., we must assume an inconsistency on the part of the author in supposing that he should have made the above-mentioned sporadic corrections. Even if in the words here under notice *o* has not been scratched out by A., they may have been overlooked and their being corrected in h. B. would consequently be an exact parallel to the instances in one of the inserted leaves referred to above. With regard to *galilew* it is also unlikely that O. should prefer this form in l. 8473 while elsewhere *galile* is mostly used. Finally it may be mentioned that the edit. is of the opinion that *galileo* > *-lew* is made s. m. (note on l. 8473).

IV. The inserted leaves.

The results arrived at in the preceding pages will be taken as a basis for our attempt to find out in what h. the inserted leaves are written. If B.-corrections or *eo*-forms are found, these are considered to be safe tests that A. is the scribe. If, on the other hand, neither of these appear in an inserted leaf, that is in itself no criterion that it has not been written by A., because the absence of B.-corrections may be accidental and the symbol *e* for *eo* is exclusively met with even in A.-t. that has been written after l. 13853.

(1) ll. 289—364 form a whole from the point of view of their contents, being an explanation of the seeming contradiction that Elizabeth was »one of the daughters of Aaron» (St. Luke I, 5) but at the same time »the kinswoman» of the Virgin Mary (ib. I, 36), who according to O. belonged to

the house of David (l. 309), because she was betrothed to Joseph.[1]

Characteristics: corrections in h. B. *wimmann* > *wifmann* 290, *þe boc* > *soþ boc* 295, *himmsellfenn* erased for *þohhwheþþre* 310; numerous *eo*-forms *preost* 293, *streon* 325, *deofell* 356 etc.; inconsistencies in the orthography: *-wrihte* 289, *laferd* 308, 339, *kinnes* 321, *lafdiȝ* 334, *eȝȝþer* 336, *israæle*[2] 294, 298. For *alll* 353 see collat. at l. 353 and for *eo* in ll. 335—364 see p. 61. — Conclusion: the insertion is in h. A. It may have been added later, but in that case written earlier than the latter part of the MS, or it may have been placed on a smaller leaf as a sort of parenthesis; cf. edit. note: «These lines are on an inserted leaf p. m.» The comparatively numerous inadvertencies in the orthography and the *o*-erasures indicate that this insertion has escaped the author's attention when he looked through his work.

(2) 467—622, «on four inserted leaves p. m.» (edit. note on l. 467), is introduced by a marginal insertion of six ll., said to be in h. B. by the edit. (note on l. 461) and deals with the Old Testament service and King David's division of the Israelite priests into 24 parts according to I Chron. XXIV and Bede's commentary (Sarrazin p. 3). As far as I can see, the 3rd leaf has been added later than the others because it is inserted in the middle of the text of the 2nd leaf. Consequently, there were originally 3 leaves contextually connected, the 1st comprising ll. 467—536, the 2nd ll. 537—564 and of l. 565 the two first words *onn hirdess,* which first

[1] The Bible tells us only that Joseph (but not Mary) was of the house of David; St. Matth. I, 1—20, St. Luke I, 27, II, 5; cf. ll. 2053—2074, 3310—3315.

[2] There are altogether only 3 *israæl(ès)* 294, 298, 842 against 25 forms with double *s* and 4 *issraelisshe* (Reichmann pp. 26, 64). The *i*-vowel is therefore no doubt short and the forms *is-* to be looked upon as scribal errors. — It is to be noticed that two of Reichmann's records (p. 26) are erroneously given, 249 standing for 294 and 13576 for 13756. On p 88 the same author states that *issræle* 8541 is a scribal error for *issraæle.* The MS, however, has *issraæle* in this place, as also H. and K. read. W. wrongly reads *Issraele.* l. 7878, on the contrary, K. reads *issræle* but even here the MS has *issraæle,* which may also be seen from Napier's Facs.

belonged to the following partly illegible er. comprising four ll.: ... *twellfe se33þ þe boc* ‖ ... *þatt comenn* ‖ ... *þurrh eleazar* ‖ *Haffdenn an hird onn hæfedd* (edit. note on l. 565); after this er. originally followed the remaining ll. of the 2nd leaf 587—617, and finally the 4th leaf comprising only ll. 618—622. The 3rd leaf, which is smaller and written in brownish ink, begins with *rihht sextene* ... l. 565 and ends with l. 586. It has been pointed out above that *se33þ þe boc* is an expression frequently used by A. but erased by B., with a few exceptions, one of which appears in the 2nd leaf (l. 599). The occurrence of this expression twice, once erased, I consider to be a good proof that the three inserted leaves just mentioned have been written by A. The er. of the four ll., on the contrary, and the addition on the 3rd leaf, which was a natural consequence of the er., are certainly due to B., because the additional ll. form a correction of a statement of A.'s which is obviously in conflict with the Bible. In ll. 481—554 the author tells us how all the priests of Israel were descended from Aaron's two sons Eleazar and Ithamar, and that they had been divided by King David into 24 «courses» (O.: *lotess,* Vulg. 'sortes') representing an equal number of families (O. *hirdess,* Vulg. 'familiæ'). But then we are told that according to *þe boc* these 24 families were divided into two *equal* parts (*þa fowwre 7 twenntiȝ hirdess Todæledd haffde rihht o twa* 556—7), twelve belonging to Eleazar and twelve to Ithamar (*7 e33þerr hird 7 e33þerr hus* ‖ *Todæledd wass þohhwhebbre* ‖ *Onn hirdess twellfe se33þ þe boc* 563—4 + er. t.). He has made a mistake with regard to the figures, however, for I Chron. XXIV, 4 reads: «Inventique sunt multo plures filii Eleazar in principibus viris, quam filii Ithamar. Divisit autem eis, hoc est filiis Eleazar principes per familias *sedecim:* et filiis Ithamar per familias domos suas *octo*». In accordance with this statement the reviser B. has made an erasure and an addition, putting in *rihht sextene* and *twiȝȝess fowwre* (565—6) for *twellfe.* Note also in l. 585 one of B.'s favourite expressions *witt tu full wel.*

It is now obvious why *rihht* l. 557 is erased and replaced by *þane* (see edit. note on l. 557), *todæledd haffde rihht o twa* meaning 'had divided just (exactly) into two'. It must

also be pointed out that *þane,* which consequently has been put in margin by B., has not the spelling we expect, *n* not having been doubled [< OE *þonne (þanne)*] in this instance only against 22 *þanne, tanne,* (469, 1468, 1945, 4062, 4200, 8352, 8401, 8557, 8565, 10876, 11637, 12047, 221, 1086, 1110, 2855, 3849, 4044, 10668, 11347, 12045, 16776).[1] Cf. also Effer p. 179. It may be added that the spelling *whane* 11333, adduced by him (Effer) as an exception, is not authentic, as the MS has *whāne* = *whanne* (see collat. at l. 11333). Consequently O. has been quite consistent in this respect.[2]

Many reasons support the edit.'s assumption that the marginal ll. which introduce the insertion are also in h. B. Unfortunately the handwriting is, as far as I am aware, not conclusive. It is true that in a way these ll. are necessary to the context, the insertion beginning with the words 7 *he* and *he* referring to Zacharias, who is mentioned only a hundred ll. before (l. 367), but on the other hand we have seen above that A. often begins a new chapter with *Annd* (see p. 34) and is not very logical from a stylistic point of view. Cf., for instance, the correction 7 *wærenn ba* > 7 *te*33 *wærenn* etc. p. 36. Further, their place in the margin show that they have been added later than the three inserted leaves, which in their turn must have been written after l. 13853, probably on the author's revision of his work, because no *eo*-forms appear. Finally we find in l. 446 the expression *godd full cweme,* which B. ought to be very familiar with, as he corrects three instances of *gode cweme* > *godd full cweme* (p. 7). For the spelling *serruenn* for *serrfenn* 506 see p. 58.

l. 617 the words *þehhtennde lott* are in the margin, according to edit. (note on l. 617) in h. B. The object of the alteration cannot be found out as the er. is illegible; cf. *i þehhtennde lott* 543 in A.-t.

(3) 1036–45, is on one inserted leaf; no information given by the edit. in what h. Handwriting not conclusive.

[1] *þan* 5007, 5025 for *þann* are certainly scribal errors.

[2] Cf. Björkman, Anglia 37, p. 370 footn.: «Die schreibungen *þane, whane* (statt *þanne, whanne*) beruhen wohl auf konsonantenkürzung in unbetonter stellung».

It contains an addition to the description of the Tabernacle in the preceding ll. To the insertion also belong the marginal ll. 1034—5 7 *tær oferr þatt arrke wass* ‖ *An oferrwerrc, wel timmbredd,* which have been substituted for an illegible er. of one l. and immediately precede the insertion, which is followed by the marginal l. 1046 7 *tær uppo þatt oferrwerrc,* apparently added to connect the insertion with the following non-inserted t. Consequently it is evident *a priori* that the scribe of the marginal ll. is identical with that of the inserted leaf. The term *oferrwerrc* occurs only in three other places, viz. in two marginal insertions which are very like the two mentioned above and are said by the edit. to be in h. B.: *Uppo þatt oferrwerrc þatt wass* ‖ *Abufenn þarrke timmbredd* 1059—60; . . . *wass an oferrwerrc* ‖ *Oferr þatt arrke timmbredd* 1692—3, and finally in text over er. 1774—84. That this *oferrwerrc* and the expositions made in connection with it are found exclusively in marg. insertions or in text over er., is certainly not a mere accident, and it can scarcely be doubted that they are all due to the same scribe. Now the edit. (note on l. 1774) declares the er. just alluded to to be p. m. This is very unlikely, first because it must have been made later, which is shown by the absence of *eo*-forms, secondly because the interpretation of the mercy-seat here given is not taken from Bede, which source is employed in the surrounding expositions (Sarrazin p. 4). Therefore it seems very probable that the insertion in question, including all allusions to the *oferrwerrc,* is made in h. B. for reasons which we are not able to find out because of the illegible erasures. The er. at l. 1034 probably hides something like the er. at l. 1692, which is partly legible . . . *oferr wass a werrc* ‖ *Wiþþ haliȝ* . . . *greȝȝþedd* (edit. note on l. 1692).

(4) 2335—2512 is on three inserted leaves contextually connected with each other and contains a long exposition on the Virgin Mary, her chastity and conception, according to the edit. in h. B. (note on l. 2335). — Peculiarities: No *eo*-forms or safe B.-corrections, always *wimmann, wimmenn* 2350, 2351, 2416, 2430. Alterations: after l. 2361 and after *hanndfesst* l. 2389 are illegible er. (edit. notes on ll. 2361, 2389); after *sammnenn* 2412 a letter is er. (collat. at this l.);

æ in *onnzæn* 2423 altered from an original *d* (collat. at this l.); *wiþþ childe* l. 2446 in margin for an illegible er., according to edit. (note on l. 2446) in B.; 2469—70 . . *shollde ben* ‖ *Her borenn o þatt wise* are over er.; after l. 2474 there is a legible er. comprising 8 ½ ll., then follow on an er. ll. 2475—78, and after l. 2478 there is a legible er. of 7 ½ ll. (see edit. notes on ll. 2474, 2475). — Inadvertencies in the orthography: *libben* 2364, *wharrþ* for *warrþ* 2461. Note also *maȝȝ* 2489 in the sense of 'maid', the only record in the O., the dissyllable *maȝȝdenn* being the usual word (cf. Sachse § 11, Anm., Brate, p. 50, Björkman, Loanw. p. 64 and foot-n. 2) and the double gen. form *þeȝȝress* in *Till eȝȝþerr þeȝȝress herrte* 2506.

It is no easy task to decide if we are concerned here with A.- or B.-text. If the latter, as is assumed by the edit., we should have expected forms such as *wifmann, wifmenn* as, to judge from his corrections, B. prefers the unassimilated forms (see p. 19). Further the edit., as far as I am aware, contradicts himself by declaring that *wiþþ childe* is in h. B., a remark which from his point of view seems quite unnecessary. He seems to have forgotten or to ignore his former statement that the whole insertion is due to B. Evidently, however, the handwriting of those two words in the margin has struck him as being different from that of the surrounding text. But if this observation is correct, it is a proof that this text is in h. A. Now the absence of the spelling *eo* and the contents, which form a whole, prove that the insertion has been added later. But from the many alterations it would appear that it has been subjected to a revision, i. e. that of B. Although the handwriting is not conclusive, I consider it probable that the text over er. ll. 2469—70 and 2474—8, including the two er., are due to B. As to the former K. (p. 4) says: «ist mit blasserer tinte auf rasur geschrieben». With regard to the latter, which is inserted between two legible er., an attempt will be made to reconstruct the original text. Characteristics of O. are his constant repetitions and reiterations, and the fact that this is the case also here, is in itself an indication that we are concerned with A.-t. If we compare the two above-

mentioned er. (edit. note on ll. 2474, 2475)[1] with a preceding passage in the same insertion, it is seen that, with the exception of the two last ll. in the second er., they literally agree with ll. 2367—2375, 2377–8, 2381—2384 of the latter. There are two gaps in the agreement, viz. part of ll. 2375 and 2377 and ll. 2379—80. It is very likely that the same passages, which together comprise 4 ll., have been erased for ll. 2475—78. If they are put in, the two er. will be connected as follows: *Wiþþ macche, swa summ i þatt ald* ‖ *Wass lazhe to ben fesstnedd* | *ziff þatt zho mihhte forþenn itt* ‖ *Onn aniȝ kinne wise* ‖ 7 *wel zho þohhte þohh þatt zho* ‖ *I maȝȝhad wollde libbenn* etc. The two last ll. of the second er. contextually agree with the t. beginning after the l. over er. (l. 2479): 7 *zho wass weddedd wiþþ iosæp* ‖ 7 *he wass warr þa sone* ‖ *þatt zho wass waxenn summ del grǽt.* The chief reason of the mentioned alteration must have been the unnecessary repetition of what had been said shortly before. From a stylistic point of view such a revision is a feature characteristic of B.

It might be objected that the curious form *þezȝress* 2506 indicates another scribe than the author. It is true that it is unique, at least as far as the O. is concerned, but on the other hand similar peculiarities are found in non-insert. t., e. g. *ho* for *zho*, *bigunnedd* for *bigunnenn*. Further *þezȝress* seems to have a special function, different from that of *þezȝre*, and is therefore scarcely to be looked upon as a scribal error. It occurs in the following connection: *till eȝȝþerr þezȝress herrte* = 'to either of their hearts'. In the O. *eȝȝþerr*, *owwþerr*, *nowwþerr* are followed by a gen. or by *off* + noun, e. g. *nowwþerr þezȝre* 12872, 13482, *eȝȝþerr þezȝre* 12874, *here* 119, *heore owwþerr* 124, or *owwþerr (eȝȝþer) off þa twezȝenn* 10345, 10586. But as *þezȝre herrte* might be any case, such a partitive gen. plur. would be obscure, especially if placed after its principal, (cf. *ȝure sawle nede* 10687, *tezȝre bapptisstess fulluhht* 18220). In such cases the prep. *off* + noun was no doubt employed as a rule instead of the case-gen. of the noun, but in the present case such a use would have involved metrical difficulties, and therefore the living

[1] For the misreadings in the er. t. see collat. at ll. 2474, 2478.

gen. ending *-s* was added to *þe33re*. I should therefore think that *e33þerr þe33ress herrte* is unusual or a poetic license for *e33þerr off þe33re herrte*. Cf. Sachse § 67 Anm. and Nachtrag zu § 67 Anm. p. 73.[1]

In spite of a few peculiarities not met with elsewhere in the O., this insertion is in all probability written in h. A.

(5) 2685—2726 on one inserted leaf, according to the edit. in h. B. It is a commentary based upon S. Luke I, 39, pointing out the importance of being good and pious in this life, as it is too late in the next. With regard to the place of this insertion in the printed t. the edit. says (note on l. 2685): «The leaf has a mark of reference, but there is no corresponding mark on the page of the MS. The lines are therefore placed here conjecturally.» This statement causes K. to make the following remark: «Diese bemerkung ist direkt unrichtig. Der herausgeber hat das übrigens deutlich genug geschriebene merkzeichen vor z. 2685 übersehen, im übrigen aber die verse des eingehefteten blattes an die richtige stelle gesetzt». There is certainly a corresponding mark of reference, but as the insertion is evidently meant to be the first part of the exposition of the 4th Latin t., the paraphrase of which is lacking, not the last part of the preceding one, it should have been placed after the marginal ll. 2727—30. Peculiarities: numerous *eo*-forms; in *3eorrnesse o* is almost erased but not reinserted. Inadvertencies in the spelling: *þurh* 2687, *oþer* 2707, *birþ* 2723, *moten* 2725. — Conclusion: The insertion is written by A.

(6) 4166—4193; on one inserted leaf for 8 erased ll., according to the edit. in h. B. (see edit. note on l. 4166). The cause of the alteration is obvious. The first ll. of the erased t. run: *þe sexe dazhess sette 3uw* ‖ *Drihhtin till 3ure werrkess* ‖ *þe sefennde, þe sunennda33* etc. Here the author is guilty of two mistakes from a theological point of view. First, is was not the Christians *(3uw, 3ure)* that the Lord told to work for six days of the week but the Jewish people, secondly Sunday ist not the seventh day. Cf. the beginning of the substituted version: *þe sexe dazhess sette godd* ‖ *Hiss follc to þe33re werrkess* ‖ *þe sefennde, þe lattste da33* ‖ *He*

[1] Funke does not mention this instance of gen. part. cf. pp. 69—73.

sette þezzm to resste | 7 itt iss nemmnedd sabbatumm | Amang iudisskenn lede, which is in accordance with Exod. XX, 11: «Sex diebus operaberis, et facies omnia opera tua. Septimo autem die sabbatum Domini Dei tui est.» A few ll. below the reviser adds: *þe seffnde dazz iss ressteda33 ‖ ... Affterr þatt tatt te wuke gaþ ‖ Amang iudisskenn lede,* which is another refutation of the statement in the erased t. mentioned above. There are no *eo*-forms, which also shows that the insertion is made later. Further, this is the only place in the MS where the Sabbath (*sabbatumm* 4170, 4174) is referred to. — Conclusion: Although the handwriting is not conclusive, it would appear that this is written by reviser B.

Immediately before the insertion the following marginal ll. are erased: *7 godess follc in heoffne shall ‖ A butenn ende brukenn.* Contextually they agree badly with the preceding passage, which may have been the reason why they have been erased. The *eo*-form *heoffne* indicates that they are written in h. A.

(7) 4554—4571 on one inserted leaf; no information given by the edit. as to the h. It contains an enumeration of the eight cardinal sins (*hæfedd sinness;* cf. p. 54). With regard to the spelling *eo* the material is too scanty to be conclusive, as only one form *erþliz* 4563 can be taken into consideration. Anyhow the usual B.-correction *3iferr- > gredi3-* 4560 proves thas the insertion is in h. A.

(8) 4774–4783 on one inserted leaf; no information about the scribe given by the edit. The handwriting seems to be that of A. It contains a detailed description of the sickness that befell Job, based on the account of the Bible: «percussit Iob ulcere pessimo a planta pedis usque ad verticem eius (Iob II, 7): induta est caro mea putretudine et sordibus pulveris[1]; cutis mea aruit, et contracta est» (ib. VII, 5), and is apparently meant to be a supplement to the

[1] cf. ll. 4782—3: 7 *war* 7 *wirrsenn toc anan ‖ Ût off hiss lic to flowenn; wirrsenn* seems to go back to OE *wyrsm (wyrms)* (Lambertz § 58 Anm. 2., Sievers, Gr. § 185). Cf. Aelfric (Homil., ed. Thorpe vol. II, 452) *and ascræp ðone wyrms of his lice mid anum croc-scearde,* which is a literal translation of the Latin 'qui testa saniem radebat' (Iob. II, 8). — For *war* see Björkman, Loanw. p. 104.

preceding non-inserted passage (4756–72). The absence of *eo*-forms (*brest, þes, cnes;* cf. *þeos* 8079) indicates that it was added later. A peculiarity is *utenn wiþþ* 4778 meaning 'outwardly' instead of the usual *wiþþutenn* 11958, 15123 etc. Perhaps the order of the two elements (members) has been changed for metrical reasons. Probably this insertion is in h. A. Cf. the similar description of Herod's disease in non-inserted A.-t. 8073—80.

(9) 5776—5861 on one inserted leaf; no information about the scribe given by the edit. The insertion forms a substitution for two legible erasures, the 1st comprising 66 ll., the 2nd 24 (see edit. notes on ll. 5776, 5865). Both the erased and inserted t. contain an account of the prophetic vision[1] of the four beasts, which are represented as symbolizing the four Evangelists. The difference lies in the appropriation of the symbols, in the erased t. 'the lion' being said to represent S. Luke and 'the calf' S. Mark, whereas the opposite is the case in the insertion. As is seen from the table of the different views on this point given by the edit. (note on ll. 5796—5799), the interpretation in the erased t. agrees with no other, that of the insertion, on the contrary, is identical with the explanation given by Jerome. Apparently the version of the erased t. was looked upon as erroneous and therefore rejected by the reviser. Another difference is that in the er. t. the Evangelists are mentioned in the following order: John, Matthew, Luke, Mark (1st er. ll. 13—22), while in the insertion (ll. 5776—87) the same order is observed as their respective Gospels have in the Bible. That may have been a contributory cause of the alteration. Formally, however, the insertion is, on the whole, only a transcription of the er. t. Thus, for instance, ll. 5788–91 of the former agree literally with 25—28 of the 1st er., 5796—5821 with 29–54, 5852—5861 with 55–66; the 2nd er., with the deviations that are a consequence of the different

[1] As is pointed out by the edit., this vision is recorded in the Bible Ezekiel I, Apocal. IV (edit. note on l. 5796). Cf. also ll. 5796—99: *7 tise fowwre wærenn ec ‖ þurrh fowwre der bitacnedd ‖ patt godess þeww ezechyel ‖ Sahh þurrh gastlike sihhþe.* For the different interpretations of the Fathers of the Church see edit. l. c.

interpretation, is rewritten ll. 5826—5849. A few ll. however, have been added, viz. 5792—95, 5822—25. On the other hand the first 12 ll. in the er. t. are not found in any form in the insertion. One of these (l. 9) is erroneous from a metrical point of view, having 8 stresses instead of 7.

Linguistic differences: In the er. t. there is an interchange of the spellings *e* and *eo*, e. g. *ben* 2, *der*, *lef* 23, *deor* 30, 37, 45, *heoffne* 38, *leo* 2nd er. ll. 1, 9, *þreo* ib. 15 etc., while in the insertion only *e* appears. In the former there are three instances of loss of final *n*: *na* 1st er. l. 24, *a* ib. ll. 46, 56; the latter has only *n*-forms. In the insertion the 3-syllabic form *leuness* (5827), which is adopted from French (Kluge, Eng. Stud. 22 p. 180, Lambertz § 144), appears by the side of the dissyllable *leness* 5838 and *le* (nom.) 5834. The er. t. has only *leo*, *leoness* (2nd er. 1, 13). The form *leuness* as well as the spelling *eu* is not met with elsewhere in the O. Some of the names are spelled differently: the inserted t. having *lucas* 5783, *lucam* 5853, *Maþþew* 5776, 5815, *ezechyel* 5798 by the side of *ezechiel* 5800, which names appear in the er. t. as *lucass* 1st er. l. 18, *lucamm* 2nd er. l. 4, *Maþeow* 1st er. ll. 14, 48, *ezechiel* 1st er. ll. 31, 33. Finally *Her habbe icc nemmnedd* 1st er. 25 as opposed to *Her hafe i nemmnedd* insert. t. 5788 is to be noticed.

The absence of *eo*-forms proves that the insertion in question has been added later. The regular use of *n*-forms as opposed to the three forms without *n* in the corresponding er. t. points to B., as this scribe has added *n* in most of the instances where there is loss of final *n* in A.-t. It may be supposed, however, that, just as in the case of *e* and *eo*, A. decided to use only forms with *n* later on and therefore employed only *n*-forms in the text that was afterwards inserted. But this does not seem to be the case. The last *n*-less form occurs in l. 19853, and in the 11th insertion (6978—7464), which must have been written later (no *eo*), we meet with 3 forms without *n* (*na* 7367, *þi* 7378, *A* 7382), two of which have been corrected in h. B. Still, that is no criterion that the insertion under discussion is not written in h. A., since this scribe only occasionally used *n*-less forms *a*, *na* instead of *an*, *nan* (see p. 23).

Nor is the only occurrence here of the French loanword *leuness* a proof that we are dealing with B.-t. (cf. *þe33ress* in the 4th insertion) but it is noteworthy, especially as the combination *e/u* is not represented in any other word.[1]

The spelling *-as* as opposed to *-ass* in the er. t. is in accordance with the ordinary use in the O. Of all the names with this ending there are altogether only 6 forms in *-ass*[2]: *helyass* 10321, *iechoniass* 11301, *kayfass* 9487, *Messyass* (insert. A.-t.) 7238, *zacariass* 691, *-karyass* (insert. A.-t.) 540 against 41 forms in *-as: helyas* 20 ×, *herodias -yas* 2 ×, *iechonias -yas* 2 ×, *kayphas* 1 ×, *lucas* 4 ×, *lysias* 1 ×, *Messyas* 1 ×, *satanas* 1 ×, *ysayas* 1 ×, *zacarias, -yas,- karyas* 3 ×. In B.-t. there is only one instance: *zacaryas* 464. A. seems to have hesitated to apply his orthographical system to names of this type. They may also reflect an uncertainty on his part as to the quantity of the vowel; cf. Reichmann § 36.[3]

In names with the Latin endings *-us* (nom.), *-um* (acc.) the final cons. is as a rule doubled in English A.-t.: *arrchelauss* 4 ×, *arriuss* 1 ×, *augus(s)tuss* 2 ×, *lazaruss* 1 ×, *tyberiuss, ti-* 2 ×, *nazarenuss* 1 ×; once even in Latin A.-t.: *petruss* (CCXXXIII). The name *iesus(s)* fluctuates, there being 3 forms in *-uss*, 4 in *-us*. In B.-t. only forms with double *s* are found: *iesuss* 11319, 12566. Forms in *-um(m)* are rare.

[1] The phonetic value of the second vowel must be *ū (oo)*, Chaucer having *leoun* (Nöjd, p. 79). This fact makes Reichmann's assumption (p. 46) of a prounciation *iu* in *saul* questionable, if not unlikely. In this word as well as in other words of the same type, *arrchelauss, arriuss, cafarrnaum, u* is probably due to influence from the Latin orthography and pronounced as *u* in *butt, summ* etc. Whether *y*, occurring only in scriptural names, represents an *ü*-sound or is only another graphic sign for *i*, is uncertain (Reichmann § 22). The latter alternative is what we should expect, as OE and OScand. *ȳ* regularly appears as *i* in O.'s dialect (Lambertz §§ 62, 66, 147, 155).

[2] These statistics and others concerning proper names in the O. are based on Reichmann's collections, which with a few exceptions are reliable.

[3] It may be pointed out that in Greek, consequently also in Latin, *-as* was long in Λουκᾶς and Ζαχαναῦς but short in the other names. This may have caused the confusion of *-as* and *-ass* in the O.

In A.-t. *iesumm* 3 ×, *iesum* 1 ×, but always *cafarrnaum*[1] (4 ×) and *orrmulum* (1 ×). In B.-t.: *propitiatoriumm* 1036, *sabbatumm* 4170, 4174.

Of forms in *-am(m)* (acc.) there no instances in B.-t.; in A.-t. only *-amm: Messyamm* 2 ×, *helyamm* 2 ×; cf., however, *adam, balaam, abraham (habr.), kam* (corresponding to Greek -αμ).

-iel by the side of *-yel* in *ezechiel* is not a characteristic, as *i* alternates with *y* in many scriptural names, for which see Reichmann § 22. Consequently no conclusion as to the writer of the insertion can be drawn from the different spelling of the names now discussed. Nor does the last difference between the two t., *hafe i* (insert. t.) ~ *habbe icc,* give us any clue, the material in B.-t. being too scanty. In the O. there are 44 *habbe,* 35 *hafe* and 1 *nafe* (Zenke p. 25). Of these one *hafe* occurs in B.-t. 4187; *habbe* 8334, which is over er. (edit. note on l. 8334), may be in h. B. A. employs both forms. But it is interesting to observe that whereas in the non-insert. t. of the homilies *habbe* strongly preponderates, *hafe* is preferred in Ded. and Pref., where 18 *hafe* but not one *habbe* appear.[2] In the insert. leaves there are only two instances, but always *hafe:* 2438, 2441. Consequently, if Ded. and Pref. are written by A., which can scarcely be doubted, the occurrence of *hafe* in an inserted leaf added later, is by no means conclusive as to the scribe.

At the end of the insertion the following legible er. is found *Forr kallf wass alls uss se33þ þe* (the word *boc* does *not* occur in the er., as is stated in edit. note on l. 5861). The reason why these words have first been written and then erased is evident: The author of the insertion has forgotten his original intention of keeping ll. 5862—5 of the non-inserted t., the first l. of which was first written *Forr kallf wass alls uss se33þ þe boc* (but in which *alls uss se33þ þe boc* has as usual been erased and replaced by *wiss*

[1] cf. Greek Ιησοῦς, acc. -οῦν, Καφαρναούμ or Καπερναούμ.

[2] A parallel to this is found in the use of the inf. *habbenn, hafenn.* Of the former there are 37 instances, of the latter only 3 (Zenke p. 25), two of which appear in D. 143, D. 151, the third in 11443. The first instance of *habbenn* is met with in l 123.

to fulle soþ in h. B.); then noticing his mistake he erased the words in the inserted t. which were unnecessary.

The occurrence of an expression which is so characteristic of A. but which was almost consistently erased by B. (see pp. 40—1) is in my opinion a proof that, in spite of the theological correction, the *n*-forms, and the form *leuness,* A. has written this insertion. In a note on ll. 5972—3 the edit. seems to express the same opinion: «In the MS the exposition of the symbolical beasts and the comment on them follow the order of the erased text. The capital letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, are placed apparently by the first hand, to denote the order in which the exposition corresponds with the inserted text.» Finally we have to consider the handwriting, which in my opinion is that of A.

(10) 5912—71 on two inserted leaves; no information given by the edit. as to the scribe; here the same idea is adopted as in the Preface 1—81, Christ being symbolized by *amminadab (-dib)* (see edit. notes on P. 5 and 25), although partly with another application. — Peculiarities: no *eo*-forms (cf. *þeowwtenn* 5903 and *leo* 5978); l. 5916 *..þatt king bi nāme wass* is substituted for *alls uss se33þ þe boc* in h. B. (edit. note on l. 5916); *-te* l. 5941 and ll. 5942—3 are in the margin, prob. in the same h. as the insertion (edit. note on l. 5941); cf. ll. 11330—1; l. 5950 *þe swallt* for *he swallt* (edit. note on l. 5950); l. 5955 *(o)nn erþe* over er. in a handwriting like that of B. (cf. collat. and l. 5979 where the same words are over er.). — Conclusion: written in h. A.

(11) 6978—7464 on seven inserted leaves; no information given by the edit. as to the scribe. It is the longest insertion in all the MS and is an exposition on S. Matthew II, 1—17.

Peculiarities: no *eo*-forms; B.-corrections: *alls uss se33þ þe boc > wiss to fulle soþ* 6988, *swa summ þe boc uss se33þ > þatt witt tu wel forr soþ* 7044, *alls uss se33þ þe boc > þatt witt tu full wel* 7082, *swa summ þe boc uss se33þ > þatt witt tu fulizwiss* 7214, *swa summ þe boc uss kiþeþþ > þatt witt tu wel to soþe* 7321 (see collat. on these ll.), *wimmenn > wifmenn* 7076, *crist himmsellfenn > crist himmsellf þuss* 7403 (see edit. notes); *þi > þin* 7378, probably also *na >*

nan 7367 (see collat.). The following alterations are made in a handwriting like that of B.: ll. 7265—6: *inn* in *kinn* over er., 7 *king off* interlined (see edit. notes on these ll.); l. 7336 *þe sterrne comm rihht till* over er. (cf. edit. note); ... *þuss brihht* 7344 over er. (see collat.). After l. 7169 there is a legible er. (see edit. note on l. 7169) of six ll., which seems to be in the same h. as the insertion. If they are put in after l. 7169 in the t., it will be seen that they can scarcely be connected with the preceding and the following text so as to give any sense. Further it is evident that ll. 7172—3, 7178—82, although somewhat different in form, are meant to replace the er. passage. These circumstances indicate that these ll. were erased immediately after being written down, because they had come in wrongly.

In l. 7268 the word *kalldisskenn* is altered from an original *call-* (edit. note on l. 7268). This implies that the corrector considered *k* to be the proper symbol in this word. In the O., as in most ME MSS, *k* is regularly employed before front vowels *(æ, e, i)*, *c* remains before back vowels *(o, u)*[1]. Before *a* there is fluctuation (Lambertz § 271). The distribution of the two symbols before this letter is as follows.

k alone is found in *kafe* 1 ×, *kaggerrleȝȝc* 2 ×, *(bi)kahht* 1 ×, *kald* 1 ×, *kanunnkess* 1 ×, *kanndell-* 1 ×, *kaserr-* (14 ×, 9 of which are in h. B. cf. p. 31); *karrte* 6 ×, *kalldea(-)* 4 ×, *kalldewe* 1 ×, *kalldisske(nn)* 8 ×, *kam* 1 ×, *kayphas* 3 ×. — Not initially: *skarn* 2 ×, *skarnedd* 1 ×, *skaþesst, skaþedd* 1 ×, *skaþelæs* 2 ×, *unnskaþefull* 2 ×.

Only *c: camb* 1; *cafarrnaum* 5 ×, *cana* 16 ×, *caym* 3 ×. — Not initially: *acáb* 19993, *lucas(s), -am(m)* 8 × (two of which in B.-t., two in erased A.-t.), *scaldess* 1 ×.

Both *k* and *c* are met with in: *kallf(ess)* 6 ×, (of which 1 in insert. t. and 2 in erased t.): *callf(ess)* 3 × (of which 1 in insert. t.), *kann(st)* 3 ×, *cann(st)* 10 ×, *kare* 1 ×, *care* 1 ×, *kariteþ(ess)* 5 ×, *cariteþ* 1 ×, *kasstell(tun)* 3 ×, *casstell(tun)* 2 ×; *kallde(o)wisshe* 2 ×, *call-* 1 ×. — Not initially: *zakaryas, -kariȝe* 3 × (2 of which in insert. A.-t.), *-carias(s), -caryas, -cariȝe(ss)* 19 × (of which 1 in B.-t.).

[1] I have noticed two exceptions *bisskopess* 9184, *bisskop* 9483.

It is seen that *k* prevails in all words except 3 (*cann(st), cana, zacaryas; -carize*). Even in Latin A.-t. *k* has slipped in: *paska* XXIV. The correction *call-* > *kall-* may therefore be in h. A.

Other alterations in the insertion, for which see edit. vol. II, pp. 377—8 and collat. at ll. 7070—7448, are no doubt made by the author of the insertion, which must be A.

(12) 7471—80 is in h. C.; see p. 101.

(13) 7775—83 «on a small slip of parchment inserted between the columns above mentioned (176, 177), but without any mark of reference to their place in the MS» (edit. note on l. 7774). The edit. therefore supposes this insertion to be a fragment of a lost commentary, there being traces of a leaf which has been cut away (edit. note l. c.). From the point of view of its contents it is related to the passage 7939—7970, but if it was meant as a supplement to this exposition, we should have expected it to be inserted between the columns 179 and 180. No information given by the edit. as to the scribe. Peculiarities: no *eo*-forms: *werrkess* 7778, 7780, *depe* 7779, *birewenn* 7783 (cf. *-reowenn* 7783); *flessh* 7775 for ordinary *flæsh*. The handwriting is in my opinion that of B.

The assumption that we are here dealing with B.-t. is supported by the occurrence of the extraordinary spelling *flessh*, this word always being spelled *flæsh* elsewhere in the MS (according to the edit.'s glossary over 60 instances of *flæsh, -lic, -like*). It seems incredible that the methodical speller O. should have intentionally been guilty of such an inconsistency[1]; cf., on the contrary, other similar inadvertencies in B.-t.: *þrittende* (p. 52), *kin* (p. 56), *þane* (p. 68), *watt* (p. 88).

The spelling *flessh* reflects a pronunciation with short *-e* by the side of that with a long vowel as early as in O.'s

[1] Cf., however, in A.-t. *þærto, tær-* (8 × according to gloss.) by the side of *þerrto* 11268 and in er. t. in edit. note on l. 5865 l. 19, *þærwiþþ, tær-* (9 × according to gloss.) by the side of *þærrwiþþ* 11707. These spellings probably indicate the beginning of a shortening before the consonant groups *rt, rw*, although they are no doubt unintentional on the part of the author.

time. It will also be remembered that shortening has taken place in O.'s dialect before *sh* in *wessh* 1732, *wesshenn* 15128 (Morsbach. Gr. § 63, Zenke § 16). A century later we find the short vowel in *flesh* in Curs. M. (*fless: gress;* Strandberg § 50) and Rob. Mann. (*fresshe: flesshe;* Boerner, p. 64).

(14) 8241—8326, on one inserted leaf (edit. note on l. 8241), is only apparently an insertion, as it is a direct continuation of the preceding passage, the first l. *þurrh rome burrȝhess kaserrking* being dependant on *flemmd* 7 *drifenn ût* l. 8239. It may also be noticed that the two last ll. form only part of a beginning sentence which ends l. 8330. Consequently the smaller leaf, on which the above-mentioned ll. have been written, must have been inserted, at the latest, immediately after l. 8240 was finished.

(15) 9035—62, on one inserted leaf; no information given by the edit. about the scribe. It is an addition to a commentary, partly lost, on S. Luke II, 8. — Characteristics: no *eo*-forms: *lede* 9044, *lef* 9057; no loss of final *n: nan þing* 9041, *tin faderr* 9057; there are a few erasures: l. 9047 *cr* (probably meant to be *crist*) erased after *þatt* (edit. note on l. 9047), l. 9059 *wollde* over er.; a word of two letters, perhaps *hī* (cf. edit. note), erased after *lætenn;* l. 9061 *whatt* over er. (see collat. on these ll.). The handwriting is in my opinion that of B. With regard to l. 9057 . . . *icc* 7 *tin faderr* cf. l. 8944, where the same passage from the Bible is quoted, *Icc* 7 *ti* (corrected into *tin* by B.) *faderr* in non-insert. t. Finally it may be pointed out that *wiss to soþe* occurring in l. 9038 is an expression often put in by B. for *seȝȝþ þe boc;* cf. p. 41. Conclusion: The insertion is in h. B.

(16) 10291—10300 «on an inserted leaf with a mark of reference to their place in a leaf of the MS which contained Coll. 257—260, but is now lost» (edit. note on l. 10291). The insertion forms a whole from the point of view of its contents and contains an explanation of the words 'Propheta es tu?' (St. John I, 21). No *eo*-forms: *helysew* 10296, 10300, (cf. *helyseow* 10334), *ben* 10299. The handwriting is not conclusive. The scribe may be B.

(17) 11060—11071, on one inserted leaf, supposed to be

in h. B. by the edit. (edit. note on l. 11060); here we are informed that the day of the Epiphany is called 'Twelfth Day' but is actually 'the thirteenth day'. As has been pointed out above (p. 51), we have met with 4 instances of *þe twellfte (twellfe)* in the sense mentioned, all of which have been altered to *þrittende (þrittene)* in h. B. This leads the edit. to the assumption that the ll. inserted here «were added to account for the alterations there made» (edit. note l. c.). This theory appears very plausible, but must be discarded for linguistic reasons. In l. 11066 there is an *eo*-form *beoþ* which, in my opinion, is sufficient evidence that the insertion in question is written by A. Further, the different spelling of *þrittennde* (see p. 52) tells against the edit.'s assumption. Besides, the statement made in this insertion need not be in conflict with A.'s use of *twellfe, twellfte* in the above-mentioned places. It may, on the contrary, be taken as an explanation why, contrary to his knowledge, he accepted the general mode of denomination on this point. Finally we cannot escape recognizing O. from the naive and at the same time puzzling arguments in ll. such as these: *swa summ ȝe nemmnenn ȝure ȝer | Twellf moneþþ, 7 tohhwheþþre ȝe muȝhenn uppo ȝure ȝer þrittene moneþþ findenn* (11068—70).

(18) 17206—17239 «on an inserted leaf between Coll. 380 and 381, with a reference to their place in Col. 379» (edit. note on l. 17206); deals with the effects of baptismal water on the body and mind of man. As this insertion occurs after l. 13853, the absence of *eo*-forms is no criterion that it has been added later, but the contents, which may be taken as a whole, and the reference-mark mentioned by the edit. show that this is the case. The expression *seȝȝþ þe boc* 17220 (see p. 41) indicates that it is A.-t.

Summary.

In the O. there are altogether 18 insertions on 29 leaves. Of these the 14th may be eliminated as not being an insertion in the strict sense of the word. Of the others ten are in h. A., viz. 1, 4—5, 7, 8 (prob.), 9—11, 17, 18, four in

h. B., viz. 3, 6, 13, 15, and one in h. C., viz. 12. Of the 2nd insertion ll. 467—565, 587—622 are in h. A. but ll. 565—586 in h. B. The 16th is uncertain as to its scribe.

V. Corrections in h. A.

1. Text over erasure.

It is generally held that the O. MS is an autograph, a view whose correctness is only confirmed by the present investigation. The fact that, according to the entreaty made by the author in the Ded., the MS is revised chiefly from a theological point of view, ought to be a sufficient proof that we have the author's own MS. The many erasures have been looked upon as further evidence (cf. edit. p. LXXVI). Apart from the deletions of *o* in the combination *eo*, the number of which must be estimated at several hundred, and which we have every reason to ascribe to A., there are over 200 shorter or longer passages which appear over er. We have seen above that only a small number of these (about 15) are due to B., and that, with regard to a few others, it is doubtful if they are p. m. or s. m. Consequently the majority of them are made by the author himself, from which we may draw the conclusion that A., contrary to B., did not as a rule erase with the pen but with the knife.

2. Erased text.

A few passages and separate words, however, which have been erased in the former way but without any substitution, are of such a character that they must have been

made by A. Among these we note in the first place the er. after l. 7169, which has been discussed in connection with the inserted leaves (p. 79). The others are as follows:

After D. 170 a l. is erased, «which is illegible, but neither sense nor rhythm is disturbed» (edit. note on this l.). We may therefore be justified in concluding that it was erased immediately after it had been written.

In P. 66 the particle *be* is erased after *salemann* (see collat. at this l.). It may be a miswriting for *bi-* in the following word *bitacnedd* or rather reflect an intention on the part of the author to write *ben tacnedd — tacnenn* and *bitacnenn* are both often used indiscriminately — which on consideration he found to be impossible, this auxiliary having already been written in the preceding l.

In l. 498 the word *firrst* is erased after *serrfenn* (edit. note on the same l.). It is an anticipation of *firrst* l. 499. Cf. Skeat, Twelve Facs. p. 10: «A common source of error is to write down a letter too soon».

In l. 7176, 7 *tatt iss e33þerr himm 7 hemm, wiss* is erased after *iss*. The word *wiss* is frequently used by O., and like the monosyllables *all, full, wel, þa, a33, þuss* it often seems to have been put in to fill up the verse (cf. Ded. 41—4), e. g. *iss wiss* P. 59, *amm wiss* 4970, *sinndenn wiss* 7410, *arrt wiss* 11339, 11355, 11359 etc. Here it was apparently erased because from a metrical point of view it did not suit what followed.

In l. 8501 *efft onn-* is over er. and *inn* is erased after *efft* (edit. note). The next l. has *Inntill (hiss a3henn birde);* consequently an anticipation analogous to *firrst* mentioned above.

In the septenary 8785—6 *Forr þatt he 3ifeþþ her hiss þeowwˇ ‖ Hiss frofre o seofenn wise, hell* is erased after *hiss* in the first half-verse (edit. note on this l.). This suggests that the author first intended to express himself thus: *Forr þatt he* (= *hali3 gast;* cf. l. 8783) *3ifeþþ her hiss hellp(e).* The last word was inappropriate here as the metre requires a monosyllable.

In l. 9077 *þu best forrworrpenn att tedom,* two letters are erased after *forr-*, according to the edit. (note on this l.) *ðe.*

If this interpretation of the er. is correct, I am at a loss to account for this miswriting. The comparatively rare occurrence of the symbol *ð*, however, for *þ* (see edit. p. LXXX) gives us reason to suspect that instead of *ðe de* was first written. In that case the author's original idea may have been to write *forrdemedd*, which was then replaced by the synonym *forrworrpenn* because of the cognate subst. *dom*. The ME compound *fordemen* (< OE *fordeman*) is, however, not recorded in the O.

In ll. 9797—8 *Ne sinndenn ȝe nohht tahhte ȝét* ‖ *Hu mannkinn maȝȝ forrbuȝhenn, to* is erased before *hu*. The use of *to* + inf. after *tahhte* in l. 9265—6 *wha tahhte ȝuw* ‖ *To fleon* etc., which well-known quotation (S. Luke III, 7) is commented upon in the above-mentioned septenary, has no doubt led the author to the miswriting in question.

In l. 13245 *þurrh haliȝ gastess sallfe, frofre* is erased after *gastess* (edit. note). *þurrh haliȝ gastess frofre* is a scriptural expression corresponding to the Latin 'consolatione sancti Spiritus' Acts IX, 31, which seems to have been very familiar to O., occurring 5627, 8758, 8766. Cf. also *þurrh godess gastess frofre* 18439, *Hiss hallȝhe gastess frofre* 13253, *þatt hallȝhe frofre gast* 10986, 11001. It is therefore not surprising that *frofre* has slipped in unintentionally in connection with the gen. *haliȝ gastess*.

In ll. 11084, 18731, 19761 the expression *ure laferrd crist* is found. The word *iesu* is, however, erased before *crist* (see edit. notes and collat. at l. 19761). It is obvious that the usual combination *iesu crist*, of which there are more than 200 cases in the O. (Reichmann pp. 33—4), has led the author to write the name in full. It was then erased for metrical reasons.

3. Marginal insertions.

Mistakes of the opposite kind, i. e. omissions of words and passages in the text which then had to be supplied in the margin, are also often found. It is therefore natural that

the majority of the marginal insertions which have not been substituted for corresponding er. in the text should be due to the author. These may be divided into four groups:

(1) letters and endings like *-u-, -t, -enn, -ne, -ess,* which are placed in the margin in the following places: 7234, 8019, 8693, [13244][1], 14435, 15739, 18509, 19370.

(2) single words such as *to, nede, filledd,* rarely two words (3 instances), and once three words: 487, 5010, 7101, 7448, 8012, 8266, 11296, 12875, 12934, 13089, 13322, 14036, 14557, 14705, 14714, 14773, 14816, 15752, 15933, 16103, 16153, 16178, 16657, 17940 *(mann þatt),* 17975, 18367, 18507, 18655, 19268, 19459, 19539.

(3) half-verses: 2680, 5053, 9268, 9934, 10443, 12319, 18637, 18686, 19382.

(4) whole septenaries, which will be further discussed below.

The marginal insertions of the first group are ordinary scribal errors, which is also the case with the majority of those belonging to the second group. A few of the latter, however, viz. *twa* 487, *rihht* 7448, *hemm* 14557, *all* 15933, *þær* 15752, *gast* 7 16657, *tatt frofre gast* 18655 seem to have been added for metrical purposes only, as the context in which they occur would be intelligible without them. It is probable that the most conspicuous errors were removed by the author gradually, as his work proceeded. Others, not so easily discovered, e. g. those caused by a miscalculation of the proper number of metrical syllables, may have been corrected later. As has already been hinted, it is indicated by several factors, i. e. some of the inserted leaves, superpositions of double consonants, deletions of the combination *eo,* that the author subjected his work to a careful revision after it was finished. Although theoretically conceivable, it is therefore not very likely that *dæledd* 8266, left out in the text and then written above the l., was added in h. B., as is assumed by K. (p. 9). As it is necessary both for the sense and the rhythm, it can scarcely have escaped the author's attention.

[1] Whether *t* in *nohht* 13244 is added p. m. or s. m. is questionable (cf. edit. note on l. 13244).

As to the third group of insertions, two of them (9934, 10443), in which *eo*-forms are found, must have been added by A. on his first revision. The same is apparently the case with *þatt godess sune, godess word* 18637, which forms part of a quotation from the Bible (S. John I, 1), without which the context would be perfectly unintelligible.

l. 5053 is dealt with on p. 103 below.

The remaining six half-verses differ from those just mentioned in so far as they are not necessary for the sense, and may therefore have been put in later to serve metrical purposes only. As is known, the metre used by O. is the septenary, which consists of two half-verses containing alternately 8 and 7 syllables. Consequently it is possible that by mistake the author occasionally wrote two half-verses successively which had an equal number of syllables. The only way to correct a metrical inadvertency of this kind without altering the preceding passage, was to add another half-verse. That this actually has been the case, is seen from ll. such as 9268, 19382, which are additions made by the author «hiss ríme swa to fillenn», whereas the surrounding ll. are literal translations of S. Luke III, 7—8 and S. John III, 28.

It remains to discuss the 4th group of insertions, 8 instances of which are found.

ll. 1714—5 *All þiss icc seȝȝdè ȝuw littlær* ‖ *Her uferr mar a litell,* which are placed at the bottom of the col. (edit. note), seem to have been added by the author on his second revision in order to make the text more easily intelligible. The passage which these ll. are intended to supplement consists of a series of *that*-clauses all depending on 7 *ec i seȝȝde ȝuw littlær* ‖ *Biforenn o þiss lare* 1686—7. As a hearer or a reader might easily forget the grammatical context through the many intervening clauses, it was deemed necessary to add another principal clause.

The passage ll. 2837—8 *þatt wass swa summ ȝho seȝȝde þuss* ‖ *Wiþþ opennlike* (A.-t.) *spæche* forms the principal clause of a complex sentence beginning with 7 *tatt* etc. l. 2833. That the insertion is p. m. is also proved by the B.-correction *opennlike* > *all full openn* 2838.

ll. 5942—3 *7 tatt he sipp̄enn affterr þatt* ‖ *Held fasste i wilde wesste* in inserted A.-t., are not necessary to the context but form an addition from the point of view of the contents. Cf. 11330—1 *Heold crist hiss fasste þære* ‖ *Fowwerrtiȝ daȝhess aȝȝ onnan.* The handwriting indicates the scribe of the inserted t.

The septenary 9529—30 *þurrh fulluhht 7 þurrh haliȝ gast* ‖ *Off alle þeȝȝre sinness* differs from the others in so far as the first two words of the next l. 7 *forr* are also in the same marginal insertion. Whether before this addition ll. 9528 and 9531 were contextually connected, cannot be ascertained because the former l., which is over er. (see edit. note), must have been differently worded. Either two metrical syllables were left out by mistake in l. 9531, or what is more probable, l. 9528 now covers a space in the MS which was originally taken up by a half-verse corresponding to 7 syllables + 2 syllables belonging to l. 9531. The latter alternative would imply that the er. and the marg. insert. were made simultaneously by the same scribe, i. e. A. With regard to its contents the addition is a somewhat free transcription of S. John I, 33: 'hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto'. Cf. also Matth. III, 11, Mark. I, 8, Luke III, 17.

ll. 16601—3 are in the margin for a legible er. comprising one l. (edit. note). It is seen at once from the typical B.-correction *himmsellfenn* > *himmsellf watt* l. 16602 (see pp. 1 foll.) that the insertion is p. m. The septenary beginning l. 16600 originally ran: *7 wǎt all whatt iss i þe mann* ‖ *Bett tann þe mann himmsellfenn.* Then the second half-verse was erased by the author and replaced by *i þe manness herrte* ‖ *Bett tann þe mann himmsellfenn whatt Iss inn hiss aȝhenn herrte.* Finally *-enn* in *himmsellfenn* was erased and *watt* put in instead by B.

It is to be noticed that this is the only case of *watt*, 3rd pers. sg. of *witenn*, being spelled with double *t*, the author himself always writing *wǎt, nat* (14 instances according to Zenke p. 39). Cf. Lambertz § 16 Anm. 1.

Finally the following collection of slighter accidental miswritings which have been corrected may be noted:

þa > *þatt* 3291, *wallde* > *walde* 3909, *nede* > *mede* 6225,

mahhtess > *mahhte* 4571, *lif* > *wif* 7659, *rihhtwiss* > *-wis* 8254, *huss* > *hus* 15230, *palate* > *pilate* 8292, *sannderrmann* > *-menn* 10304, *gluterrnesses* > *gluterrnesse* 11636, *tohht* > *tohh* 13482, *þatt* > *þa* 15020, *bitacnadd* > *-nedd* 16345, *forrwerrpenn* > *-werrpeþþ* 19635 (see edit. notes and collat.).

These corrections have probably as a rule been made by the author at his first or second revision. On the other hand it may be pointed out that he was by no means infallible in this respect, as over 50 scribal errors of the type *gastlit* for *gastliȝ* 14333, *wharrþ* for *warrþ* 2461, *annȝætenn* for *annd-* 15169 etc. still remain in the MS.

4. Superpositions of consonants.

In this connection a question will be discussed which is of great importance for a correct understanding of O.'s peculiar orthography. It has already been pointed out by Ellis, who based his observations on White's Facsimile P. 1, that «the second consonant in a reduplication was sometimes written over the other, and sometimes not. The same was the case occasionally with *h* in *ȝh*, etc.»

As is to be expected, however, superpositions of this kind are found all over the MS, although with some variations as to their frequency. In order to get an approximate estimate of the extent to which this mode of writing is used in the O., I have investigated the 5 extant facsimiles from this point of view. In the 220 ll. that these facsimiles comprise, I have found 103 $\overset{n}{n}$ against 28 *nn*, 39 $\overset{r}{r}$ ~ 28 *rr*, 8 $\overset{c}{c}$ ~ 39 *tt*, 1 $\overset{d}{d}$, 1 $\overset{ȝ}{ȝ}$, 1 $\overset{l}{l}$ but always *ss*. *mm* is never found, the doubling of this consonant being denoted either with one stroke + $\overset{m}{m}$ or by two strokes over the vowel, or by $\overset{h}{h}$ (19 instances). Cf. p. XVIII. In the combination *ȝh* the second cons. is consistently written above the first (20 instances) except in the pron. *ȝho*, in which *ȝh* appears regularly. Apart from the cases in the facsimiles I have specially noted the following instances: *follȝcþ* 166 (K. p. 2),

hehȝesst 1055, *suhhȝen* 7924, *laȝen* 10760, *lahȝre* 3746, 10719, 10729, 10739, *nehhȝen* 9592, 12669. The same superposition is invariably met with in the passages I had photographed, which comprise about 450 ll., and in which the following instances of medial *ȝ* were found:

daȝess 4157, 4165, 4195, 4229, 5840, 15599, *hallȝe* 5848, 9857, 10458, *aȝenn* 4234, 5849, 9781, *follȝenn* 4241, 7719, 9782, 15431, 15481, *follȝepþ* 9318, 15417, *forrbuȝhenn* 9266, 9756, 9798, *laȝe* 9319, *laȝelike* 9544, *muȝe* 9323, *sæȝenn* 15490, 15618, *dreȝenn* 15437.

Even in B.-t. *ȝ* appears regularly except in *ȝho: daȝess* 4166, *hallȝe* 4191, *draȝenn* 7781, *muȝe* 7783. Finally it may be noted that in C.-t. the spelling *follȝest* is met with (see edit.'s note on l. 4978 and collat.), which is probably an attempt to copy B.'s *follȝesst* 4981. Cf. p. 54 and chapt. VII.

Consequently, to judge from this investigation, which in in my opinion gives a fairly correct idea of the distribution in the MS as a whole, the double *n* is mostly, the double *m* and *r* very often, denoted by superposition. Occasionally reduplications of the consonants *c, d, ȝ, l* are rendered in the same way. Further, with regard to the combination *ȝh*, it may be looked upon as pretty certain that all through the MS the second consonant is consistently written above the first in all words except *ȝho,* in which this mode of writing never appears.

Now the question arises whether this mode of writing is a custom intentionally adopted by the author, or whether the superposed letters have been added later, in which case they are to be looked upon as corrections. The edit., who touches upon this question, (W.'s edit. p. XCIII) seems to incline towards the former view, expressing himself in the following way: «Two different letters are sometimes found on one stroke, as the *l* and *d* in the word *child,* in l. 8

col. 2. of Facsimile No. 2. A similar mode of repeating the same letter takes place occasionally in the letters *d*, *h*, *s*, *t*, *w*, *ȝ*, and *þ*. These deviations from the usual mode of writing adopted by Ormin were occasioned probably by a wish to economize time and space, and, if that be so, we are indebted to his patience and liberality for their comparatively rare occurrence.»

As is seen, the edit. does not mention *n*, *r*, *m*, *h* at all, but it might be assumed that he conceived them to be some sort of ligatures like *w*, *þ*, *h*, and *d*, which are written on the same stroke and of which the two former are very often used by the side of *ww*, *þþ*.

Ellis, on the other hand, has adopted the latter alternative for all the cases, even for the ligatures just mentioned. In Pron. II. p. 486 footn. 2 he makes the following interesting remark: «As we have also at length *broþerr* (twice), *Wallt'* etc. ...., and as in the cases of superposition the writing was crowded, I conceive these to have been corrections, similar to the little accent marks by which words were separated that had been too closely written. If then in some cases we find a single consonant where we should have expected a double consonant, we may fairly attribute it to a slip which has escaped correction.»

There can be no doubt that Ellis is perfectly right, at least as far as superpositions of the same consonants which are not written on the same stroke are concerned. It should be remembered that the orthographical system O. was so anxious to introduce, was an innovation of unique character, which must have caused its originator many technical difficulties to carry out. Over and over again he no doubt relapsed into the spelling he was accustomed to from OE and contemporary MSS. It is therefore to be expected that the superpositions should appear only in words which had a single cons. in the traditional spelling. And that is also regularly the case in the facsimiles. The author himself was certainly quite aware of the difficulties alluded to, and therefore he had all the more reason to look through his work carefully after it was written, in order to check this point.

But considering the bulk of his work, it is not surprising that, in spite of this revision, errors should remain. The following instances of a single cons. for an expected double one, which are to be looked upon as scribal errors, have been found:

frofren D. 237, *opnenn* D. 262, *þat* D. 318, *childen* 156, *follȝheþ* 166, *sunes* 185, *-wrihte* 289, *laferd* 308, *kinnes* 321, *lafdiȝ* 334, *eȝþer* 336, *laferd* 339, *offring-* 639, *beginning* 706, *þeowtenn* 1075, *ellderne-* 1213, *lærest* 1290, *fassting* 1450, *moneþ* 1810, *grammcund* 1545 (prob.), *kin* 2073, *steorne* 2134, *brinngeþ* 2190, *tacneþ* 2251, *libben* 2364, *þurh* 2687, *oþer* 2707, *birþ* 2723, *moten* 2725, *unnwemeddnesse* 2875, *lustess* 2969, *greting* 2999, *þurh* 2971, *anoþer* 3176, *sawles* 3933, *þat* 3752, *daȝȝes* 3810, *affter* 4307, *winenn* 4510, *hæþing* 4876, *hinnderrling* 4888, *þan* 5007, 5025, *lot* 5177, *aȝhen* 5191, *leorning-* 5271, *muȝhen* 5286, *drædung* 5610, *oc* 6044, *cneling* 6365, *steorne* 6420, *þweort* 6449, *-cund* 6863, *bollȝhen* 7197, *lihhnen* 7445, *biǧǧen* 7811, *clensenn* 7833, *bitter* 7967, *follȝhen* 8058, *nemnedd* 8227, *laferd* 8652, *for* 8839, *nemnedd* 9185, *us* 9577, *grammcundnesse* 9784, *leorning-* 9900, *þeowwten* 10094, *spelenn* 10133, *man* 10241, *leorning-* 10327, *lesen* 10399, *soþfast* 10455, *annxumnesse* 10457, *eȝþer* 10586, *opeliȝ* (= *openliȝ*) 10592, *fillen* 10817, *recneþþ* 11208, *leorning-* 11550, *fanding* 11622, *þurh* 11640, *fandinge*[1] 11804, *þat* 12331, *þeowtenn* 12551, *follȝhen* 12915, *oþer* 13831, *dales* 14749, *þankess* 15139, *þan* 15689, *haffden* 16477, *þan* 17431, *shulen* 17775, *lust* 17831, *in* 18078, *dreden* 18174, *þurh* 18213, *wrohte* 18540, *oþer* 18678, *wereld* 18845, *þurh* 19085, *laferd* 19534, *ilke* 19955.

As is seen from this list, the instances of *n* and *r* for *nn* and *rr* strongly preponderate, being 43 and 22 respectively. We remember that the same consonants were in the majority with regard to superposition. This is no doubt due to a more frequent occurrence of *n* and *r* in close syllables compared with others. The endings *-en* and *-er* for instance are extremely frequent. It is to be noted that a single cons. instead of a double one appears only three times in words in which doubling was the rule according to the traditional spelling (*unnwemedd-* 2875, *winenn* 4510, *spelenn* 10133).

[1] For the forms in *-ing*, *-inng* cf. Eilers p. 65—6.

The opposite phenomenon, two consonants for one, is another unintentional error which is a natural consequence of the new orthography that O. had set himself to introduce. As is to be expected, it occurs less frequently than the former. The following instances are to be explained in this way:

dæþþ D. 201, *herr* 4344, *ende* 4575 (cf. Eilers p. 62), *unnorne* 4884, [*wurrþþenn* 4954 (altered from *wurrþshipe* probably in h. B.)], *onnȝæn* 6498, *ūtt* 8530, 8531, *abuttenn* 9230, *deffless* 15737, 17500, *word* 16472, *berenn* 16690, *gasstess* 19718, *wiff* 19851, *rihhtwiss* 19969. The same is probably the case with *forrþ*[1] 4482, 6854, 7997 *(forþ)*, 13039 *(forþ)*, and *ȝerrne* 9072, 17962 *(ȝerne)*, 18376 (Eilers p. 71).

It is possible that we have similar scribal errors in the isolated spellings *dosst* 5103, *masst* 8522, and *wasst* 17566, there being 8 *dost*[2], 10 *mast*[3], and 5 *wast*[4]. These errors

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[1] With regard to this word it may be pointed out that of the instances of *forrþ, þeþenn-, teþennforrþ* given by Eilers p. 72 those in ll. 8917, 10786 are erroneous readings in *W.*'s edit., those in ll 863, 11532, and 18176 erroneous readings in *H.*'s edit. The MS has in these cases *forþ, -forþ*. In l. 13039 there is no *þeþennforrþ*, as is stated by Effer (p. 176) and Eilers (l. c.) but *forrþ*. Consequently there remain only 5 cases of *(-)forrþ* against about 90 *forþ, -forþ* (cf. Effer l. c.). — The form *forrþrisst* (= 'athirst') is to be eliminated from this group, as it is of course composed of *forr* + *þrisst* (OE *þyrstan*), not to be interpreted *forrþ-risst*, as is done by Eilers l. c. — *forrþ wipp* 18575 is probably a compound and phonologically analogous to *forrþwarrd, -rihht, -bi* (Eilers pp. 72—4), *forþ wipp* 1336 on the contrary, although printed as one word, are certainly two separate words.

[2] To the six instances given by Effer p. 191 *dost* 7377 and 15358 are to be added. Cf. Lambertz § 74 Anm. 1, § 168, Zenke § 56.

[3] cf. Effer p. 191, Lambertz § 17 Anm. 3.

[4] These instances are found in ll. 6192, 9395, 11259, 11311, 14356. — The attempts made by Lambertz and Zenke to account for the supposed short vowel in this word are not very successful. The former suggests (§ 16 Anm. 1) that the vowel has been shortened owing to the frequent use of the form in question. The latter (p. 38) seems to assume *a priori* a double pronunciation of *wast*. What in my opinion weighs most in favour of the possibility that in O.'s dialect short forms like *dŏsst, wăsst*

have arisen in two ways. Sometimes, when the author was writing down his verses, two consonants slipped in for one. The above-mentioned corrections *huss* > *hus* 15230, *rihht-wiss* > *-wis* 8254, *wallde* > *walde* 3909, show that this actually has taken place. But as in some instances (see above) I was convinced when examining the MS that the superfluous cons. is written above the l., we must assume that O. occasionally misplaced the consonants on his revision. Cf. doubling of cons. in Lat. A-t. p. 102.

Even a few cases of three consonants for two are found: *þerrf-* 1588, *forr* 2217, *mennnisscnesse* 3103, *kinness* 9021, *ankennedd* 17716 (see edit. notes and collat.). Here we may suppose that, when correcting his MS, O. did not notice that the cons. he intended to double by superposition was already reduplicated; *unsc3-3enndli3*, which in the MS is separated in the way indicated, is an obvious case of such inadvertency. Cases like *drunnkennnesse (kenn-nesse)* 14741, 15377, 15389 are only instances of the consistency with which O. carried through his system.

Finally we have to discuss the combined symbol *3h*, 3 which, as has been already mentioned, appears in the latter form except in the pron. *3ho*. This fact helps us to explain why 3 for 3 is a usual scribal error: *hall3e* 1758, 10925, *foll3enn* 1908, *foll3esst* 4723, *borr3enn* 6089, 7561, 16711, *burr3ess* 8271, *wite3unnge* 14453. (Cf. Lambertz § 235, Anm. 1.) Contrary to what is expected, *h* is found in *wre3henn* 2889, 17843 (see Lambertz §§ 234, 2 and 328 and Anm. 2), which, as *h* was superposed, is easily accounted for as a miswriting of the same kind as *word, berenn* etc. Another inadvertency may also be explained by means of the same mode of

māsst were occasionally used by the side of the more usual *dōst, wāst, māst*, is the circumstance that before *-st* shortening often took place: *lasstenn, wesste, esstess, unnwresste, mosste* (cf. Luick, Gr. § 352 b). On the other hand the long vowel is preserved in *æst, læste, mæst, gast, slast, brest, þre(o)st, se(o)st* (Effer p. 191). In any case it is hazardous to draw any conclusions in this respect from isolated spellings with double cons. in a text like the O.

writing. l. 8241 has *burrhȝess* (in both the edit.) for *burrȝ-hess,* a reading which I conceive to be due to *h* having by mistake been placed a bit to the left instead of exactly over ȝ.

It may now be asked whether these superposed *h*'s have been added later and are to be looked upon as corrections like *-n, r,* etc. Such an assumption would imply that O. originally used the symbol ȝ both for the palatal and guttural spirant in a medial position, but that subsequently it occurred to him that the two sounds ought to be distinguished even graphically and that he therefore added an *h* in words which had the latter sound. As far as the cases are concerned where *ȝh* goes back to OE *g* (guttural), this would not be quite out of the question, as it might be assumed that O. intended to follow tradition on this point, but that he should ever have thought of introducing ȝ as a symbol for a guttural spirant and writing *lah(h)ȝenn* (OE *hlæhhan*), *neh(h)ȝenn* (OE *neahwian*) I consider to be quite impossible. In my opinion O. was determined from the beginning to use *ȝh* as a symbol for the guttural sound in a medial position but intentionally superposed *h* to distinguish it from *ȝh* in *ȝho,* which no doubt was a different sound. This theory agrees very well with the results arrived at by Lindkvist with regard to the phonetic value of *ȝh* in *ȝho,* recently published in Anglia 1921. These may be summed up as follows:

(1). Initial *ȝh* in the O., which appears only in the pronoun *ȝho,* «the nearest ME descendant of OE *hio*» (p. 12) cannot be identical with the sound denoted by the same symbol in a medial position but is (2) «an aspirated essentially voiced, palatal spirant or semi-vowel» (p. 13) »very like the sound *hju* in present-day English» (p. 14). This assumption, which is supported by convincing arguments, shows that the sound in question was composed of two elements: an aspirate and a palatal spirant. That being so, it was only natural that O. should denote this consonantal combination with *ȝh* written at length. Now it is a well-known fact that O. applied phonetic principles as extensively as possible in his orthography. Consequently, in order to get a graphic

distinction between the combined sound in *ȝho* and the voiced guttural spirant in a medial position, which was a single sound, he created a new symbol or a sort of ligature for the latter by superposing *h*.[1]

VI. Doubtful alterations.

Under this heading are included the alterations that, for some reason or other, may be suspected to be in h. B. The handwriting often indicates B., but as no other safe tests have been found, I characterize them as doubtful.

They are of two kinds, consisting, first, of a few marginal insertions which as a rule have been substituted for illegible or only partly legible erasures, secondly of passages over er.

P. 82. *þurrh salemann ȝehatenn* > *þurrh gastliȝ witt ȝehatenn* (edit. note). The substituted words *þurrh gastliȝ witt* 'spiritually, in a spiritual sense' were probably considered an improvement in the intelligibility of the passage. Cf. P. 29, P. 34—5, P. 65—7, P. 75—6. Perhaps in h. B.

l. 4344. *swa summ* in margin for an illeg. er. The alteration is apparently made in connection with the preceding l., which is over er. (edit. note). The handwriting seems to be that of B. In l. 16312 the same words *(swa summ)* are found in margin (see collat.), whether in h. B. is uncertain. It may be suggested that the synonymous expression *all se (swa se)* was written first. Cf. er. t. after l. 1441 (edit. note on l. 1442), where *all allse* occurs twice, and unerased A-t. 16704 *7 all all swa se moysæs.*

l. 4738. *Forr idelllezȝc is hæfedd plihht* in the margin for an illegible er., according to the edit. in h. B. (edit. note on l. 4738). Cf. l. 10214 *Forr ȝiferrnesse iss hæfedd plihht* in A.-t.

[1] Cf. Skeat, Twelve Facs. p. 11, § 10: »In late MSS (i. e. about 1450) a compound symbol, as *th*, *ch*, *gh* denoted a single simple sound, some scribes grew into the habit of writing a bar through the *h*, or above (or through) both the letters.»

l. 7266. *-inn* in *kinn* over er. and the three first words of the next l. 7 *king off* interlined for four words that have been erased (edit. note on l. 7266). The handwriting indicates B.

l. 9352. *to donne* in margin in a handwriting like that of B. for a word erased after *bigann*. The inflected inf. is very rare in the O., there being only two other instances in A.-t., in both cases the verb *don*, viz. *whatt himm wass to donne* 2949, *off whatt hemm wass to donne* 10106. In the former (as object to *biginnenn*) as well as in the latter position the uninflected inf. is the rule (see Weyel pp. 12, 22, Wülfing pp. 207, 211). The two instances of this archaic use in A.-t. are no doubt to be looked upon as metrical forms.

The er. does not enable us to see what was first written. Conjecturally I reconstruct ll. 9351—2 as follows:

Aer þann þe laferrd iesu crist ‖ *Bigann himmsellfenn owwþerr*, the correction in this case being caused by the nom. *himmsellfen;* cf. p. 1 foll.

ll. 11210, 11294. *þurrh weress fulle fowwerrtiȝ; fulle* in margin for an illegible word erased after *þurrh* (edit. note on l. 11210). — The subst. *weress* is elsewhere in the O. often furnished with the epithet *hallȝhe* (5382, 5394, 5626, 10458, 19439, 19443), *hallȝhe weress* meaning 'the pious' as opposed to 'the impious'. It seems to have been a current theological term, taken from the Bible; cf. 'sanctis' Coloss. I, 1, 'omnibus sanctis' Philip. I, 1, Ephes. I, 1; 2 Corinth. I, 1, 'vocatis sanctis' Rom. I, 7, 'sancti Dei homines' 2 Peter I, 21. This term might have slipped in here erroneously, *weress fowwerrtiȝ* referring to the forty generations of Christ (Matth. I, 1—16).

In its corrected form the expression is interesting from the point of view of accidence, *fulle* being without a parallel in a corresponding position. It may be asked whether it is an adj. or adv. In his glossary (H.'s edit. vol. II, p. 462) White has given it as an *e*-form of the adv. *full*. Sachse (p. 58 footn.), on the other hand, who cannot account for this exceptional inorganic *-e*, inclines to the view that it is an adj., and he refers to the OE instance *hig wæron seofon dagas*

fulle (l. c.). It is rather a complicated question to decide; perhaps it would be most logical to look upon *fulle* as an adv. meaning 'quite', 'fully', 'the full number of'; cf. OE *ðurh tyn winter full,* and *ful* x *winter* (Wülfing II, p. 278). The OE instance given by Sachse does not seem to me to be quite analogous to the one discussed here, but corresponds exactly to O.'s *ehhte dazzess fulle* 4213 'eight clear days'. But if *fulle* is an adv., the *e*-form used here is the only one in the whole MS. Not only in A.-t. but also in B.-t. is the form *full* in the sense of 'very' frequently met with: *full innwarrdliȝ* D. 325, *full glade* 160, *fulliwiss* extremely frequent; see edit.'s glossary p. 462; note also the B.-corrections *opennlike* > *all full openn* (p. 29 foll.) *gode cweme* > *godd full cweme* (p. 7), and the recurrent phrase *þatt witt to full wel* (p. 41). I cannot find a satisfactory explanation of this *e*-form. It is possible that it is an inadvertency on the part of the scribe, whoever he may be, who was evidently at a loss for a suitable dissyllable as a substitute for the word erased.

l. 12460. *he toc to wenenn þa* in the margin for an er. of which only the words *te deofell* are legible. — Conjecturally I reconstruct the l. in the following way: *þurrh whatt te deofell wennde þa;* cf. 12390 *Nu wennde wel þe laþe gast,* and 12432 *Acc wennde þatt he wære þa.* If the reconstruction suggested is correct, the marginal expression may have been chosen because it emphasizes better the commencement of the action.

l. 15785. *i þe temmple* is in the margin for an erased passage of which *less* is legible. This may be a fragment of *turrtless,* a synonym of *cullfress,* in which case ll. 15784—5 originally ran: *Menn saldenn þære nowwt* 7 *shep* | 7 *cullfress oþerr turrtless;* cf. *Twa cullfress oþerr turrtless* 7892. From the point of view of the contents, *i þe temmple* seems to be quite unnecessary, as the place in question is already indicated by *þære* 15784, referring to *temmple* 15782. The marginal expression has therefore evidently been added to fill up the verse after the words disapproved of had been erased. Probably in h. B.

l. 16700. *þatt stah* is over er. and *forr menn* in the

margin for an illegible er. of about four syllables (cf. edit. note). Contextually this l. is part of a passage (16698—16703) that paraphrases S. John III, 13: 'Et nemo ascendit in caelum, nisi qui descendit de caelo, Filius hominis qui est in caelo'. In the exposition of this Gospel the same passage seems to be repeated, but unfortunately the text is corrupt, only the words *þatt stah forr* 17369 being legible. Probably in h. A.

ll. 16860—1. *fra þe follc* ‖ *þurrh haliȝ lif* 7 *lare* in the margin for an illegible er. The same passage returns in ll. 16866—7. The first part of it *(fra þe follc)* is over er. (see collat.) and may therefore be due to the same h. as the corresponding words in l. 16860; the second part, on the contrary, must a priori be in h. A. With regard to the source of this passage (16856—16867) the edit. and Sarrazin differ, the former suggesting St. Augustine (note on l. 16862), the latter (pp. 19, 21) positively declaring it to have been taken from Bede. It is always hard to settle questions of this kind, especially as in this case both alternatives seem to be acceptable. The passage in Bede on which Sarrazin bases his opinion is as follows: 'Pharisei interpretantur divisi, eo quod singularem sibi præ cæteris scientiam legis et observantiam mandatorum Dei vindicabant' (ed. Migne III, 16). Cf. with this *farisew bitacneþþ uss* ‖ *Shædinng* 16862—3, *Abufenn all þe lede* 16857 (= præ cæteris). *þurrh haliȝ lif* 7 *lare* may be a somewhat freer transcription of 'scientiam legis' etc. On the other hand *skiledd ût all fra þe follc* 16860 and *shadde* ‖ *Swa summ hemm þuhhte fra þe follc* 16866 seem to be a literal translation of the Augustinian 'quasi à grege separatus' (edit. note l. c.). It is possible that the marg. insertion and l. 16866, which is over er., are due to B., who supplemented the Bede version with the Augustinian one.

ll. 19109—19113, except the first word *þatt* in l. 19109, are in the margin for a legible er. comprising three ll. (see edit. note on l. 19109). From a theological point of view the insertion, compared with the erased passage, forms (1) a correction: *þurrh hæþenndom forrblendedd* > *þurrh hete* 7 *niþ* etc. 19110, the Jews, who are here spoken of (19109),

not being heathens in a narrow sense of the word (cf. Catholic Encyclop. vol. XI, p. 388), (2) an addition (19111—19112). Besides, the insertion in question implies an improvement in clarity of expression: *þatt lede* > *þatt iudewisshe follc*. These facts indicate B. On the other hand there is an acc. with an inf. without *to* after *don* in the sense of 'cause—to' (19112), a construction which we cannot expect B. to be guilty of, since, as we have seen before, he has even corrected A. on this point (p. 37).

l. 19209. *to* is over er. and *firrþ-* in *firrþrenn*[1] is in the margin for an illegible er. (edit. note). The handwriting indicates B.

Finally we may note the following passages, which are over er. and the handwriting of which is like that of B.:

þe sterrne comm rihht till 7336, *þuss brihht* 7344, *wurrþlike* 8177 (cf. edit. note), *Alls iff* 8178, *Swa summ icc habbe shæwedd* 8334, *..þa* ‖ *Wiþþ fulluhht* 9191—2, *7 fele tokenn shriffte* ‖ *Off alle* 9251—2, *..he wass wis o lare* 9328, *-neþþ þatt te goddspell se33þ* | *þatt sannt iohan bapptisste* | *Wass sennd* 9343—5 (see edit. note and collat.), *till hemm* 9409, *..himmsellf* ‖ *Bitwenenn hemm to spelleⁿn* 9421—2, *..baþe* 17185, *alle samenn þær* 17411, *þær i þatt laþe wesste* 17416, *..he warrþ all* 17435, *all.. iss summ* 18750, *himm* 19083.

VII. **Hand C.**

As has been pointed out by W., there is a third scribe in the MS: ... «a third (i. e. hand) in supplying the MS

[1] With regard to this verb Weyel says (p. 31): »*Furrþrenn, firrþrenn* ... kommt nur einmal mit Inf. vor und zwar hat es den Inf. mit *to* bei sich«. And in foot-note[2]: »White giebt im Glossar nur die Form *firrþrenn* an«. It may be pointed out here, however, that the forms *furrþrenn, furþrenn* 1350, 5084 in W.'s edit. are misprints for *firrþrenn* (l. 1350 MS *frirrþ-*), which is also duly remarked by the edit. (W.'s edit. vol. II, p. 659). Under such circumstances it is only natural that the glossary should give only *firrþrenn*. Further, the inf. of the same verb is found not once but three times (1350, 5084, 19209), of which two instances are followed by an inf. with *to*.

note at the fiftieth Text (*Huc usque 1 Volumen*, edit. note vol. II, p. 347), and also Texts at the respective Homilies». (W.'s edit. p. LXXXVII, H.'s edit. p. LXXVI.) And in a note on l. 109 W. says: «At this line in the MS the text of the first homily is written apparently in the hand noticed at T. L. The same hand appears to have been also employed in inserting in the margin of the MS the other texts to which the homilies have reference».

Of the English text C. has written:

(1) the 13th inserted leaf (7471—80).

(2) 4978—81 at the bottom of the col.[1]

(3) 8343—46 in a vacant space on the 17th inserted leaf.

(4) 8592 *þ wit tu wel to soþe* written in the text above *swa summ þe boc uss kiþeþþ* erased.

(5) 19611—14 at the bott. of the col. (see edit. notes on the respective ll).

According to the edit. three marginal insertions, viz. 5053, 6762, 7675—80, are also due to the same h., a view which I cannot share, as both paleographical and linguistic factors contradict this assumption. But before trying to ascertain who is the scribe of the last mentioned ll. we had better see what characterizes the passages which I agree with the edit. in ascribing to C.

The handwriting (see Facsim. 3) is smaller and firmer and easily distinguished from that of A. and B. It is also later, as is seen from the way in which the writing has been placed in the MS. The passages 2—4 are only reiterations of marginal insertions in h. B., so there are two versions, one in h. B., and the other in h. C., the latter rewritten, perhaps in order to place them more conspicuously nearer the text of which they form part. The inserted leaf is only a transcription of A. t. ll. 6494—6504, which paraphrases S. Matthew II, 12. Contrary to B., who has corrected and added, C. has only played the part of a transcriber.

The Latin texts (not to be confused with those introducing the whole work) are as a rule found immediately before the beginning of the respective paraphrases, viz. ll. 109, 3270, 7571, 8347, 8879, 9123, 10257, 11319, 12566,

[1] Not to be confused with the same marginal ll. in h. B.

12720, 14000, 15538, 16608, 17906, 17984, 19551, 19819, 19996. The 2nd, 8th and 12th texts are lacking (cf. edit. pp. LXXXII—IV), although the corresponding paraphrases are extant (ll. 197, 3388, 7631), and the 4th and 26th have been erroneously placed before the beginning of the corresponding expositions (homilies) (ll. 2685, 17493). The paraphrase of the former is lost, and was so perhaps even when the C.-text was written[1], the latter begins at l. 16712.

If we compare the Latin C.-text with the corresponding A.-t., a few differences in the spelling will be noticed. In the latter doubling of cons. has sometimes slipped in (apparently unintentionally): asce*nn*dit, uendente*ss* (XXIV), petru*ss*, iohane*ss* (CCXXXIII), a*ss*cendentibus (XV). That is never found in the former. C. always abbreviates the name of *Ihesus*: *ihc* or *IHC*, A. writes it in full, *iesus* by the side of *ihc*. Note also *zacharias* (l. 109), *pharisei(s)* (ll. 16608, 19551), *herodiadem* 19819, *siccar* 19996 in C.-t. but *pharysei(s), herodyadem, syccar* in the corresponding A.-t.; further *temtaretur* (A.) ~ *temptar-* (C.), *ligavit* (A.) ~ *alli-* (C.), *ierosol-* (A.) ~ *ierosol-* and *iersol* (C.). It seems that the two scribes have used different versions of the Bible.

In the English C.-text the following deviations from O.'s orthographical system are found:

hem 7471, 7477, *him, þurh* 7472, *onzæn* 7473; 4978—81 (see edit. note on these ll. vol. II, p. 363): *unnderrfótt, strengþe* (cf. *strenncþe* in A.- and B.-t.), *luuesst, wiþ, herte;* 8343—46: *god, almahtiz, folzhenn, wurþi;* 8592: *wit* (for *witt*); 19611—14: *herr, endeþ, goddspel, birþþ* (for *birrþ*), *þurth, watt* (for *whatt*), *lerneþ*. In addition the *e*-sound in *þer* 7478 and *slep* 7479 is rendered with *e* for *æ* in A.- or B.-t.

C. has evidently felt obliged to make an attempt to apply O.'s orthography (cf. Ded. 97—110), but failed. The spellings *e* for *æ* indicate a later period.

C. differs from A. and B. even on another point. It is a well-known fact that O. invented a special symbol for the back stop, which is regularly used even in B.-t., whereas the continental *g* is employed for the *dzh* sound (Napier, Notes

[1] Cf. the MS note at Text XXXII and edit. pp. LXXXI, vol. II, p. 347.

pp. 71 foll.). C., on the contrary, used the continental *g* in *godess* and *gast* 7471, 7477 but O.'s special symbol in *enngell* 7472 and *þing* 7480. See Facs. 3. Evidently C. has copied A. in the latter words but followed the scribal habits he was used to in the case of the former.

It might be supposed that the same scribe has altered 3 to *ǧ* (*dzh* sound) in *3errsalæm* in ll. 8439, 9182, 9188 (Napier, l. c. p. 74 footnote[2]; cf. also Reichmann § 19, Anm.). Anyhow these alterations cannot be due to B., since there are 27 instances of *3errsalæm*(-) left uncorrected (Reichmann § 19).

As has been mentioned above, three marginal insertions are supposed by the edit. (notes on ll. 5053, 6762, 7675) to be in the same h. This is certainly not the case. First, the handwriting is not, as far as I am aware, that of C., secondly none of the orthographical peculiarities characteristic of that h. are met with in the passages in question, which all exhibit the usual doubling of consonants. Consequently they must be in A. or B.

With regard to ll. 7675—80, which deal with the prophetess *Anna,* and are a transcription of S. Luke II, 36—37, the common B.-correction *þuss se33þ þe boc* > *þatt witt tu wel* 7678 is evidence enough that A. has written these ll.

The same is probably also true of the two other marg. insertions, as they are necessary both to the sense and the rhythm. It appears very improbable, if not impossible, that such conspicuous inadvertencies should have escaped A.'s attention, especially as he has carefully revised his work. Cf. p. 87.

In Pref. p. LXXVI the edit. says that a fourth h. has been used «in a marginal addition at col. 230». This refers to the common concluding phrase *Her endeþþ nu,* etc. (cf. p. 53) which has been dealt with in a rather intricate way. It has first been written in a fragmentary form in the margin of col. 228; then it has been erased by B. and placed at the bottom of col. 230, apparently according to the arrangement pointed out above (p. 53) in the following form *Her endeþþ nu þiss goddspell þuss* 7 *cetra.* Finally another h. has erased 7 *cetra* and completed the phrase with the following variations in the orthography: *birþ, þurh-, loke* (for *lokenn* inf.), *wat* (for *whatt*), *lereþ* (see edit. note on ll. 9331—4). The

inconsistent spelling shows an obvious resemblance to the corresponding passage in l. 19611 (= C.-t.), and in my opinion the handwriting is the same. The inf. *loke*[1] with loss of *n*, which indicates a later period, is no doubt characteristic of the scribe's own dialect, whereas *lokenn* 19611 is correctly copied from the B.-t.

The only partly legible passage which is written in a small h. at the bottom of coll. 245—6 (see edit. note on l. 9771) as well as the words *V siclis argenti*[2] written in the margin at l. 7812, where the corresponding English expression occurs, *Wiþþ fife wehhte off sillferr* (edit. note on l. 7812), seem also to be due to C. With regard to the former passage no information is given by the edit. as to the h.; the latter is said to be «in an old hand» (edit. note l. c.).

In ll. 4320, 4322 the Greek letters *y* and *s* are superposed by the interlinear glosses *þi* and *ess* respectively, according to the edit. «in a very early if not the first hand», and in l. 3537 *hæse* is glossed in the margin by the mysterious word *tuge* written twice (see K. and collat.; cf. edit. note), according to the edit. «in an early hand» (note on l. 3537). The two instances of *tuge* are in my opinion in h. C., at any rate certainly not in A. or B., and the same is probably the case with the glosses *þi* and *ess*.

VIII. Corrections in a fourth hand.

A few corrections must be assumed to have been made in a fourth h., as they exhibit linguistic peculiarities found in none of the texts which are due to A., B., or C.

e > *eo*

This applies in the first place to the numerous reinsertions of *o* in the combination *eo* dealt with above (p. 61). I have already tried to show that these cannot have been made by A. or B. It may now be added that they cannot

[1] *follȝhe* 8030 is no doubt miswritten for *follȝhenn;* cf. edit. p. LXV footnote 105, Thüns § 10, Anm., Zenke § 46.

[2] Fragments of this marginal insertion are seen in Napier's Facsim.

be ascribed to C. either, because in that case we should have expected him to employ the spelling *eo* in such words as *here* (poss. pron.), 7475, *herte* (edit. note on ll. 4978—81), *ben* (l. c. 8343—6).

In this category of corrections I include *imæn* > *mæn imæn* > *mæn* in the l. 7 *swa we muȝhenn alle imæn* 7751 (see collat. and K.), which implies that *alle* should be read as a dissyllable. We are able to establish immediately that this alteration is not made p. m., because no form *mæn* occurs elsewhere in the O. — cf. *mæne* (subst.; see edit. gloss.) and *mænelike* (adj.) 2503 — secondly, because there are 9 instances of *alle imæn* in unerased A.-t. (3376, 4554 insert. A.-t., 5506, 8185, 8877, 9121, 10151, 17741, 19477), two in erased t. (after ll. 1667, 7994; see edit. note on these ll.). It is true that the prefix *i-* < OE *ȝe-* has as a rule been dropped in the O. as well as in most other ME texts from the North and Midland, as has been shown by Slettengren (pp. 3, 12, 50), but it has been retained in a few words (*imæn, inoh, iwhillc, fuli(ȝ)wiss, istanedd,* as *ȝe-* in *ȝehatenn*).

As regards *imæn* Slettengren explains the retention of *i-* in the following way (p. 59): «It is remarkable that this word is used only in the collocation *alle imæn* 'all together'. The retention of *i-* is in my opinion due to rhythmical considerations. It is well known that a succession of two stressed syllables is instinctively avoided in English. *imæn* in *alle imæn* with the easy-flowing rhythm ⏑ – ⏑ or ⏑ – ⏑ was retained». As far as I can see, this explanation cannot be true, at least of the collocation *alle imæn.* For it should be remembered that in ordinary prose *-e* in *alle* can not be elided, (cf. *alle bædenn* 697, *alle þa* 695) and that in O.'s verse the rhythm ⏑ – ⏑ would be preserved even if *i-* in *imæn* is dropped. Consequently, if rhythm has operated here in the way alluded to, we must assume that *imæn* very often occurred in stress-groups of the above-mentioned type, e. g, *all imæn, þe33 imæn.*[1] Whatever the explanation may be, the occurrence of *imæn* in such a position that in O.'s verse *i-* could be omitted

[1] Cf. *fuli(ȝ)wiss* < *full iwiss,* in which the spelling with only one *l* shows that it was looked upon as one word (Björkman, Anglia 37, p. 370), but which is not analogous to *alle imæn* (cf. Slettengren p. 60).

without the number of metrical syllables being changed, indicates that the prefix in question was also kept in prose.

The other possibility is that the alteration in question is due to B. But, as is seen from the corrections and insertions in h. B., this scribe was contemporaneous with A. and has on the whole the same dialect. It is true that B. has erased two passages in which *alle imæn* appears, but he has apparently done so for other reasons (see p. 54). Further, if we consider the general character of B.'s alterations, it does not seem very likely that he should have erased the prefix *i-* only once but left 9 instances untouched. It would therefore appear that this sporadic alteration is due to a later copyist or reader in whose dialect *mæn* was the only current form.

D. 322 and D. 331 *t* in *tiss*, preceded by *þatt*, is altered to *þ* in late h. (see collat. and K.). Now it is a well-known fact that in the O. initial *þ* of «pronominal words» (e. g. *þa, þær, þanne, þe, þu, þatt, þiss;* see Blackburn p. 48) becomes *t* after words ending in *d* or *t* and also after *s* in the combination *þess te*. This sound-change is consistently[1] carried out, even in B.- and C.-texts; cf. the usual B.-correction *þatt witt tu wel to soþe* (p. 41) and h. C. *3iff þatt iss þatt tu* etc. (edit. note on l. 4978). Hence it is seen that the alteration in question has nothing to do with O.'s dialect.

l. 12780. The words *uss dide* are erased (edit. note on this l.), apparently because if these words were retained, the passage would be linguistically incorrect, there being another predicate, *uss didenn*, in l. 12782. If A. or B. had been guilty of this er., he would certainly have put in another expression so as to save the metre.

The words *cnawenn, cnewe* (12941, 13693) were originally written without *n*, which was then added above l. in a small h. (see K. and collat.). The correction *3errde* > *3errⁿde*

[1] According to Blackburn (p. 48) there are two exceptions, viz. D. 15 *(witt þatt)* and l. 15576 *(filled þa)*. The last instance, however, is a misreading or misprint, the MS having *filledd ta* (see collat. and K.); note also *skarnedd tær* 7397 (thus W. and H.) which K. (p. 9), as far as I am aware, erroneously interprets as *skarnedd ðær* (cf. collat. l. 7397). Consequently there remains only one exception (*witt þatt* D. 15) (see edit. Facsim. 3), which must be looked upon as a scribal error for *witt tatt*.

17001 is probably due to the same h. (cf. K. and collat.). Similar corrections in a late h. are *all* > *alll* 353 and *inoh* 10722, for which see collat. at these ll.

The corrections *all* > *alls* 9823, *shaffde* > *shaffte* 13980, *þettre* > *þe33re* 16547 (see edit. notes) also seem to be made in a later h. than A. and B.

Under the words *i dale* 13264 a modern h. has written *an dale, dal?*.

In some parts of the MS there are small vertical strokes (see Napier's Facs. and Facs. No. 1), which have been inserted to separate the words. This was evidently considered to be necessary, because the writing in the O. MS is as a rule so crowded as not to allow anybody to see where a word begins or ends. Although of frequent occurrence these strokes are not put in consistently. In most of the inserted leaves, for instance, they are lacking, and often elsewhere (see W.'s Facs.).

Ellis is of the opinion that the author himself put in these strokes in order to make his writing more easily legible (Pron. II, p. 486, footn. 2; see p. 91). Skeat, on the other hand (Twelve Facs. p 7) supposes them to be due to a modern h. If Ellis was right in his assumption, the marks in question would give us valuable information as to the many cases where it is uncertain whether we are dealing with a compound or a noun + noun. Everything, however, points to the probability of their having been added in a very late h. First, they do not appear with any consistency. Secondly they are lacking in er. t., which indicates that they are not due to A., and thirdly — what most strongly tells against Ellis's assumption — they are sometimes wrongly placed. The prep. *uppo(nn)*, for instance, is denoted as two words (thus 9269, 10392). The same is the case with *hellewa* 9699 and *cullfrebridd* 7887, which were probably felt as compounds. It is possible that W. and H. have in some cases followed these indications, which would account for inadvertencies such as *neddrestreon, neddre streon* (9265, 9793), *forþwiþþ* 1336, *forrþ wiþþ* 18575, *hellepine* 8418, 11858, 13677 etc., *helle pine* 15437.

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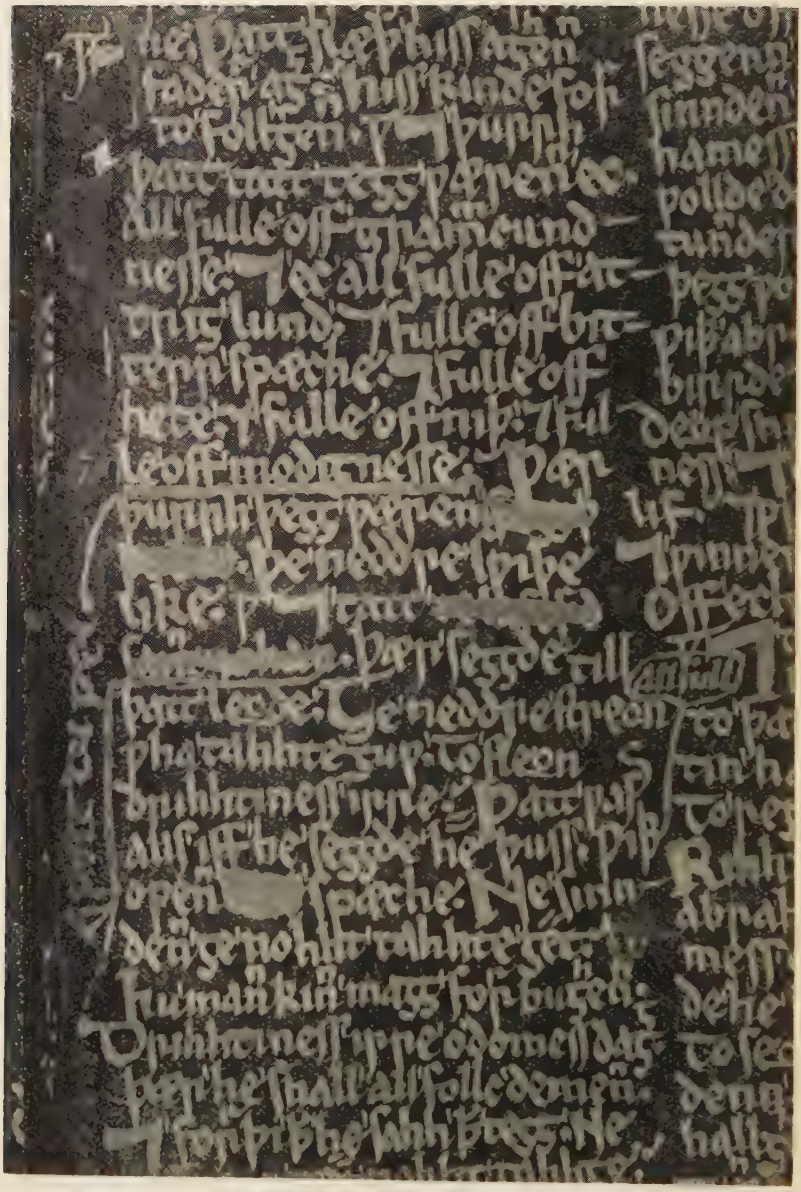
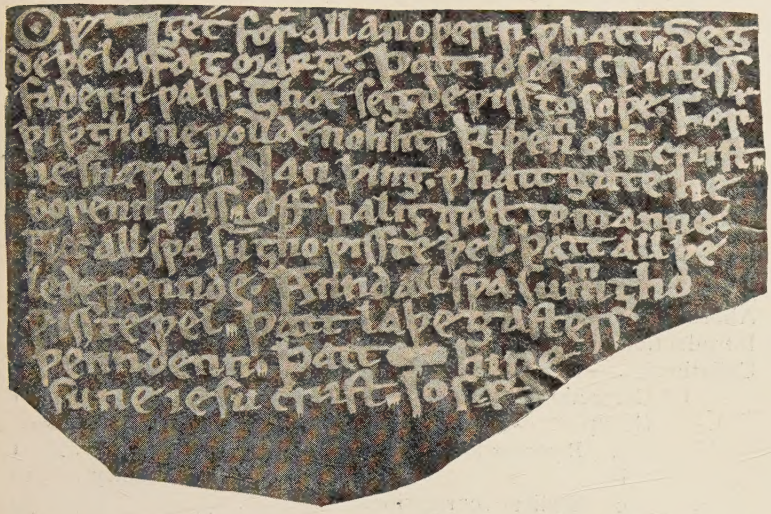
Addenda et corrigenda.

P. 2, l. 8 from top, for *himmsellf* (twice) read *himm sellf.*
» 3, l. 9 » » , *birrþ;* cf. Zenke p. 16 footn.
» 20, l. 16 » bottom: «That is obviously the reason why it has so often been overlooked by W. and H.» It may be added that in 30 of the instances given *n* has been printed in W.'s edit. but then removed in H.'s.
P. 34, l. 15 from top, for *yospels* read *Gospels.*
» 54, footn. 3, l. 4 from bottom, for *rosing* read *rosinng.*
» 61, »Only in *four* such instances is *e* printed»; add *sellþe* 6051; cf. collat.
P. 68, ll. 16—17 from top: only a hundred ll. before = as far back as a hundred ll.
P. 108, *abut(t)enn*, for XXXIX read XL.
» 109, *butenn*, » » » » .
» 110, *droh(h)*, » » » » .
» 111, *hird*, » » » » .
» » , *hof(f)*, » » » » .

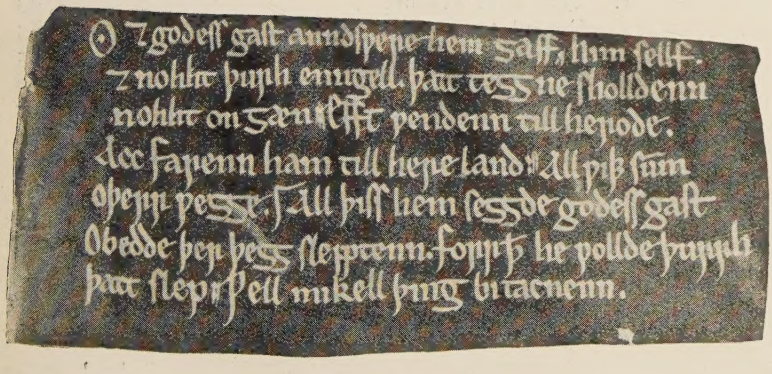


No. 1.

A.-text with B-corrections (Holt's edit. ll. 9781—9801).
(MS Junius 1.)



No. 2.
B.-text (Holt's edit. ll. 9035—9047).
(MS Junius 1.)



No. 3.
C.-text (Holt's edit. ll. 7471—7480).
(MS Junius 1.)

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